

JAMES J. O'HARA

Death and the Optimistic Prophecy in Vergil's Aeneid



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JAMES J. O'HARA

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*For my father and mother,
and for Diane*

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN
TEXT AND FOOTNOTES

Abbreviations of classical names follow or are more explicit than Liddell-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, and the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Modern scholarship is cited by last name of author and date of publication; see the Bibliography.

Except where noted, I have used Mynors' text of Vergil, the Harvard Servius for *Aen.* 1-5, and the Thilo-Hagen Servius for 6-12.

CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
GRF	Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta, ed. G. Funaioli
OLD	Oxford Latin Dictionary
ThLL	Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (Leipzig 1900-)

Death and the
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INTRODUCTION

In the first book of the *Aeneid*, Jupiter makes an extended prophecy to Venus about the future of Aeneas and the Romans. "For them," he says, "I have set no boundaries of space or time: I have granted rule without end." Like the *Iliad*'s prediction of undying fame for Achilles, which seems fulfilled by the existence of that poem, Jupiter's prediction strikes the reader today as obviously true. The Romans dominated the Mediterranean for several centuries, and even after their nominal fall their institutions and cultural heritage—including the *Aeneid*—have had enormous influence throughout the world, seemingly unfettered by limits of time or space.

Vergil, however, had no way of knowing that this would happen, nor did his first readers. We can never know exactly how the Roman reader would have reacted to Jupiter's prophecy, but I shall argue in this study that Jupiter's words are best viewed not as a clear statement of one poet's confident belief, but as part of a complex poetic narrative expressing both the hopes and fears of its age. I shall show that many of the prophecies in the *Aeneid*, both the short-term predictions of events later in the poem, and the long-term predictions like Jupiter's of the future glory of the Rome of Augustus Caesar, are deceptive in a way that is central to interpretation of the poem. Close attention to the rhetorical or dramatic context of prophecies in the *Aeneid*, and comparison of the language of the prophecies with details given elsewhere in the narrative, show that in order to encourage their recipients many prophecies suppress material that would be disturbing or discouraging. This is true of the prophecies made to characters within the poem, and the long-term prophecies that seem directed to the Roman reader. The long-term prophecies thus put the reader of the poem in the same position as the characters within the *Aeneid* who receive deceptive prophecies. Both must struggle with the possibility that the surface optimism of the poem or prophecy is undercut by darker material partially suppressed.

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Vergil uses these deceptively optimistic prophecies to depict a world where man cannot know or face the truth, where perception is clouded by misinformation, and where hopeful expectation is repeatedly frustrated by grimmer reality. This is the world through which Aeneas moves, and the world in which both Vergil and his readers lived. Thus the experience of the characters within the poem parallels not only the experience of reading Vergil's poem, but also the Romans' experience of living through decades of the failed hopes and deceptive rhetoric of civil war.

In the last thirty years, many critics working on Vergil have stressed the ways in which he seems ambivalent or pessimistic about Rome and the Augustan settlement.¹ Some scholars have objected strongly to this development, claiming that the readings that find this doubt and ambiguity in the *Aeneid* are too modern, too subjective, too anachronistic. An ancient reader of the *Aeneid*, they say, would have had no trouble finding the poem to be clearly a patriotic encomium of Augustus and his family, even if this encomium does include a realistic recognition of the difficulties of war, mortality, and empire. Finding Vergil actually ambivalent about Augustus, they continue, is as anachronistic and inappropriate as it would be to find, say, Dante or Milton ambivalent about God.² This study will show that the readings that see darkness or doubt in the *Aeneid* are neither excessively subjective nor fatally anachronistic. It is those who seek to deproblematize and reimperialize the poem who are the more subjective or selective readers, and who are imposing in an anachronistic way a simple interpretation on a complex, ambiguous poem.

No reading of the poem can avoid subjectivity, but I have tried to draw my broader conclusions from careful study of significant details. In this I assume Vergil's allegiance to the demanding poetics of learned Alexandrian literature, and am

¹ References in chap. 4, n. 12.

² See esp. Jenkyns (1985), Hardie (1986), Stahl (1981). It will become clear that I am more in sympathy with recent work by Lyne (1987), Conte (1986), and Feeney (1986) on the *Aeneid*, and Griffin (1979) and Ross (1987) on the *Georgics*.

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also following an ancient method of dealing with problematic details in statements made by characters within a narrative. These two aspects of my method deserve further comment. First, my assumption in dealing with any passage has been that the poet is working with great care and precision within an Alexandrian tradition that makes close attention to details, allusions, ambiguities, and the artifices afforded by Callimachean learning a prerequisite for understanding the poetic goals of any scene. That this is the best way to read Vergil has been amply demonstrated, but not universally acknowledged.³ Second, my interpretation of certain problematic details—principally inconsistencies in prophetic statements made by characters in the *Aeneid*—will be novel, but founded on an ancient method discussed in the Homeric scholia and elsewhere. Close reading of the prophecy of Jupiter to Venus in Book 1, for example, reveals important discrepancies between what Jupiter tells Venus and what the reader knows, both from familiarity with Roman history and from the rest of the poem. Vergil's inability to revise the *Aeneid* before his death is responsible for some of the "flaws" in the poem, such as the several unfinished lines, but not for all of them. It is no coincidence that many of the inconsistencies in the *Aeneid* concern prophecies, and I shall regard some of these inconsistencies not as errors on the part of the poet, but as misstatements or even lies reflecting the character, limited knowledge, or rhetorical goals of the speaker. As one ancient author says of Homer, "Whatever things he himself says speaking in his own *persona* must be consistent and not in conflict with one another. But whatever he has other characters say should be thought to be not his own words, but those of the character speaking." That source and others supporting my approach are collected in the appendix to chapter 3, "Inconsistencies in Prophecies and the 'Solution from the Character Speaking.'"

A brief survey of the contents of the book may be useful. The first chapter looks at how the deaths of four of Aeneas' men contradict the letter or spirit of prophecies he has re-

³ On Vergil, Callimachus, and Alexandrian poetry, see Clausen (1987).

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ceived. The second chapter argues that Turnus seems to be deceived by the gods about his fated role in the war in Italy, and that his experience has much in common with that of Aeneas. The third chapter deals with the contradictions between the picture of his own future that is presented to Aeneas by Creusa, Anchises, and others, and the glimpses of that future that are offered to the reader by passages such as Jupiter's prophecy and the curse of Dido. In this chapter the deception in the poem is set in the context of Roman oratory and politics, and the role of divination in Roman religion.

The fourth chapter looks at the prophecies of Rome, especially that of Jupiter to Venus in Book 1, and shows that the deceptiveness associated with prophecies extends to Vergil's own prophetic pronouncements on Augustan Rome. Vergil's choice of detail reminds the careful reader of unpleasant material that is being omitted; the extent to which this deceptiveness undercuts the proud confidence of the prophecies of Augustan Rome is left unclear.

The fifth chapter describes the ambiguous position in Rome of the poet-prophet, who may be either a bard inspired with truth, or a charlatan selling empty dreams. Vergil links the deceptiveness of prophecies to the potential for deception in poetry, art, Roman religion, and even language itself. The *Aeneid's* concern with the conflict between hope and fear, or faith and doubt, resembles that of much of the rest of the age's poetry, from Catullus to Ovid.

Though I take issue with those who find the *Aeneid* unhesitatingly optimistic and encomiastic, I do welcome their insistence that the encomiastic aspects of the *Aeneid* cannot simply be dismissed as surface foil or fluff.⁴ Scholars have argued too long over whether the *Aeneid* is optimistic or pessimistic: this study argues that in the prophecies of the *Aeneid*, and in the poem as a whole, Vergil expresses both the age's hope for the peace of a Golden Age under Augustus, and its fear that this hope might be deceptive and illusory.

⁴ See Hardie (1986) 1.

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Orontes, Palinurus, Anchises, and Pallas: Prophecy and Deaths “Before the Eyes of Aeneas”

ORONTES

The scene sequence dominated by the storm at sea (1.8–296) anticipates the whole poem in thought as well as mood. It is the prelude of the work, announcing the basic motifs after the manner of an overture.

V. Pöschl, *The Art of Vergil* 14

The first persons to die in the *Aeneid* are the Lycian Orontes and the men of his ship, which sinks in the storm that Aeolus sends in obedience to Juno in Book 1. Vergil’s description of the wreck emphasizes the scene’s pathos: a wave strikes the ship, the helmsman tumbles out, and the vessel is sucked down into the sea (1.113–19). Our attention is drawn toward the pain of Aeneas, for it is through his eyes that we see Orontes die (*ipsius ante oculos* 114, “before the eyes of Aeneas himself”). Through repetition of vocabulary, rhythm, and word order, line 119, *arma virum tabulaeque et Troia gaza per undas* (“men’s arms and the planks and the Trojan treasure among the waves”), recalls the words of Aeneas at 100–101, lamenting that it would have been better to have died at Troy, where

tot Simois correpta sub undis
scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit.

(Simois snatched and rolled beneath its waves so many
men’s shields and helmets and strong bodies.)

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“It is as if the horror of Troy is being re-enacted,”¹ as if Aeneas’ troubles will never end, but will follow him wherever he goes. At last Neptune senses and stops the storm. Aeneas reaches shore with seven of his twenty ships, and there he encourages his men, telling them that the gods will grant an end to their suffering, and that they should remember the *sedes quietae* (“settlement free from trouble”) that they have been promised in Italy (198–207). Vergil tells us here that Aeneas’ optimism is feigned:

talìa voce refert curisque ingentibus aeger
spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem.
(208–9)

(Such things he says, and sick with great cares he feigns
hope on his face, suppressing the pain deep in his heart.)

In each of these two lines the middle caesura marks the break between the pretense of hope and the grimmer despair that lies behind it.² Vergil again draws attention to Aeneas’ isolation, and to his hidden pain, at the end of the scene:

Aeneas nunc acris Oronti,
nunc Amyci casum gemit et crudelia secum
fata Lyci. . . .
(220–22)

¹ Austin (1971) *ad* 119; on the speech, cf. Clausen (1966) 77. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

² See Wlosok (1967) 23–24 on the style of 208–9; on the content, see her 23n.37 and Goff (1984) 215n.56. One model for Aeneas’ speech is that of Odysseus at *Od.* 12.208–21, which also deceives, for Odysseus makes no mention of Scylla, who he knows will snatch some of his men. Macrobius *Sat.* 5.11.8–9 compares Vergil with Homer, and notes that Aeneas’ consolation is more powerful (i.e., that his rhetoric is better): *hoc quod vester (sc. Vergilius) adiecit solacii fortioris est. suos enim non tantum exemplo evadendi, sed et spe futurae felicitatis animavit.*

Milton imitates *Aen.* 1.208–9 at *Paradise Lost* 1.125–26: “So spake th’ Apostate Angel, though in pain,/ Vaunting aloud, but rackt with deep despair.” See Fish (1971) 4–14. The distinction he draws at 8n.1 between Milton’s lines and Vergil’s, however, is not valid.

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(Aeneas mourns to himself now the loss of Orontes, now that of Amycus, and the cruel death of Lycus. . . .)

I describe this scene for two reasons: first, in order to begin this chapter by looking at the death of Orontes, and second, because Vergil's comment, that Aeneas "feigns hope on his face, suppressing the pain deep in his heart," provides important insight into Vergil's awareness of the often deceptively rhetorical nature of speech in the *Aeneid*. This potential for deception is nowhere so apparent, or so thematically significant, as in the poem's numerous prophecies. I shall argue in this study that many of the prophecies in the *Aeneid* are characterized by the same sort of surface optimism and hidden doubt that we see in Aeneas' words. Many prophecies in the *Aeneid* predict success in some activity, or future happiness, while conspicuously omitting or only obscurely hinting at the death of one individual that will qualify or destroy that success. The deaths of Aeneas' father Anchises and his helmsman Palinurus are examples that may come quickly to mind for those familiar with the poem; variations of this pattern mark the deaths of several others, including Pallas, Turnus, Marcellus, and even Aeneas. This chapter will treat characters whose deaths call into question the truthfulness of prophecies made to Aeneas: Orontes; Aeneas' helmsman Palinurus, who dies despite an oracle of Apollo predicting that he would reach Italy safely; his father Anchises, whose death, Aeneas complains, is not mentioned by the prophets Helenus and Celaeno; and Pallas, who dies in battle following a chain of prophecies that seem to promise victory in war, but also foreshadow and even help to bring about his death.

Orontes and the Omen of the Swans

Orontes' death in the storm will be recalled at key points later in Book 1. At 1.314-410, Venus disguises herself as a local girl and visits Aeneas, tells him about Dido, and encourages him to proceed to Dido's city. She assures him that he is not hated

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by the gods (*haud, credo, invisus caelestibus* 387), for the ships that he thinks are lost, are safe:

namque tibi reduces socios classemque relatam
nuntio et in tutum versis Aquilonibus actam. . . .
(390–91)

(For I announce to you the return of both your companions and your fleet, driven to safety as the North winds turn.)

She points to twelve swans that escape from an eagle and begin to regroup onshore, and interprets them as an omen (393–401). The careful structure of Venus' speech stresses the tight correspondence between omen and interpretation.³ Near the beginning and at the end she gives similar commands (*perge modo* . . . in 389 and 401). Four lines of description of the swans (393–96) are followed by four lines of exegesis, sharply structured by *ut* (397) and *haud aliter* (399). Both omen and interpretation end with lines split by *aut* . . . *aut* (396, 400). The interpretation seems easy: as the birds reach shore, so Aeneas' men have or will soon have reached the safety of land.

But Orontes and his men are dead. Venus makes no mention of these victims of Juno's wrath, even though the bird omen does precisely describe the situation. Commentators have described Vergil's procedure here, without explaining his motivation. Aeneas started with twenty ships (1.381). He lands with seven, as Vergil tells us three times, in lines 170–71, 193–94, and 383.⁴ The men from twelve ships, like the twelve swans, get to shore, and one ship is lost. Seven plus twelve plus one: twenty. The numerical precision draws atten-

³ See Conington (1963) and Austin (1971) *ad loc.*, and Grassmann-Fischer (1966) 96, who refers to the "Gleichnischarakter" of this omen and its companion, the prodigy of the swans and eagles at 12.244–56. See also chap. 2, Tolumnius section.

⁴ 1.170–71 *septem . . . omni/ ex numero*; 192–93 *septem . . . corpora . . . et numerum cum navibus aequet*; 383 *vix septem*.

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tion to the death of Orontes, and to Venus' failure to mention him.⁵ The omen is precisely true, but the interpretation of it by Venus is subtly deceptive. Later, when the invisible Aeneas and Achates are watching the men from the twelve safe ships approach Dido, Achates mentions the apparent flaw in what Venus said:

nate dea, quae nunc animo sententia surgit?
omnia tuta vides, classem sociosque receptos.
unus abest, medio in fluctu quem vidimus ipsi
submersum; dictis respondent cetera matris.
(1.582-85)

(Son of a goddess, what thought rises now in your heart?
You see everything safe, with the welcome of the fleet
and the companions. One is missing, whom we ourselves
saw sunk in the waves; the rest corresponds to your
mother's words.)

Achates' words remind us of those used to describe both Orontes' death and Venus' augury: *unus . . . quem vidimus ipsi* (584, "one, whom we ourselves saw") recalls *unam . . . / ipsius ante oculos* (113-14, "one, before the eyes of Aeneas himself"), and *classem sociosque receptos* (583, "the welcome of the fleet and the companions") echoes Venus' *reduces socios classemque relatum* (390, "the return of both your companions and the fleet"). Achates' statement *unus abest* seems an odd way to refer to Orontes and his men;⁶ Vergil is again stressing the mathemat-

⁵ Austin (1971) *ad* 393 describes the arithmetic. For numbers in omens, cf. *Il.* 2.300-332, where the nine sparrows represent nine years; *Genesis* 40-41, where the seven cows represent years; and the sow whose thirty young represent either Latin towns (*Lycoph.* 1255-56) or years before the founding of Alba Longa (*Aen.* 8.43-47; other sources in Horsfall [1974] 113).

Venus complains to Jupiter about lost ships in the plural (*navibus [infandum!] amissis* 1.251). In talking both to him and to Aeneas, she exaggerates for rhetorical purposes.

⁶ Contrast the reference to them at 6.334-36: *Leucaspim et Lyciae ductorem classis Oronten, / quos simul a Troia ventosa per aequora vectos / obruit Auster.*

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ics that has previously drawn attention to Orontes. Achates and Aeneas, however, are not bothered by the omission, which seems harmless, because they saw Orontes die. The fulfillment of most of Venus' prophecy about the ships' return seems to confirm her optimistic view of the situation.⁷

Here Vergil has gently established a pattern that will recur throughout the poem: a death is omitted from an optimistic prophecy. Most of the variations on this pattern will be more disturbing than Venus' failure to talk about Orontes; but Aeneas has been deceived, in that Venus conceals the work of Juno from him.⁸ Juno's hatred of Aeneas is prominent in the *Aeneid's* opening lines, in Juno's angry speech at 37–49, and in her request that Aeolus send the storm that threatens Aeneas and kills Orontes. Venus tells Aeneas that he is not hated by divinities (*haud, credo, invisus caelestibus* 387), right after Vergil has provided ample evidence of Juno's enmity. Then Venus downplays what Juno has accomplished by not mentioning Orontes. None of the gods hate Aeneas—except one; Aeneas' men and ships will return—except one. Venus may even suggest that Aeneas' troubles come not from the irrational Juno but from the more reasonable Jupiter: the *Iovis ales* (394, "bird of Jupiter") scatters the swans, then leaves them alone. One commentator notes that "the swan was Venus' special bird . . . so the eagle-swan picture suggests her triumph over Jupiter's hostility."⁹ Venus' desire to accentuate the positive and eliminate the negative is understandable, given Aeneas' despair (described in 208–9 *curis . . . ingentibus aeger/ . . . premit*

⁷ Several prophecies are lent credence in this way; cf. the appendix to this chapter.

⁸ As Serv. Auct. *ad* 128 notes, Aeolus carries out Juno's commands to the letter. Juno tells him to sink or scatter Aeneas' ships (*incute vim ventis submersasque obrue puppis, / aut age diversos et dissice corpora ponto* 1.69–70). He scatters some of Aeneas' twenty ships (*dissice* in 70 is answered by 128 *disiectam Aeneae toto videt aequore classem*); and he sinks one (*submersas* in 69 is answered by *submersum* in 585). The repetitions may indicate that because of Juno's orders, at least one ship had to go down, and someone had to die. For similar verbal echoes in the fulfillment of Juno's orders, cf. chap. 2, nn. 1 and 53.

⁹ Austin (1971) *ad* 394 with references on Venus and swans; more in Wlosok (1967) 83n.36.

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altum corde dolorem, "sick with great cares, he suppresses the pain deep in his heart," and displayed in 384ff. *ipse ignotus, egens* . . . , "myself unknown and needy . . ."). A description of the mood of the recipient of a prophecy will be an important feature of many scenes in the *Aeneid*, often providing a clue as to the function of the prophecy.¹⁰ The rhetoric of Venus' exaggerated optimism is similar to Aeneas' hollow encouragement of his men when he "feigns hope on his face." Then her ambrosial exit reveals her true identity (1.402–5), and helps to vouch for the validity of her augury; many prophecies or omens in the poem will be confirmed by a divine sign or epiphany.¹¹ Aeneas complains bitterly about Venus' deceptive appearance (*quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis/ ludis imaginibus?* 407–8, "Why so many times do you—cruel like the rest—delude your son with false appearances?"). He does not know that the real deception is more subtle, or that Venus has concealed Juno's hatred from him. Immediately after the meeting with Venus, Aeneas is still discouraged; but as he stands invisible in Dido's city and sees most of his men alive, Venus' prophecy and its apparent fulfillment help convince him that his troubles may be over. Venus sends Aeneas more confidently toward the meeting with Dido that will bring not an end to suffering, but only confusion, pain, a bitter curse, and death.¹²

The *si non vana* Motif

One feature of this scene deserves special comment: Venus' augury is prefaced by a disclaimer, *ni frustra augurium vani do-*

¹⁰ On Venus and Aeneas here, cf. Grassmann-Fischer (1966) 96–97; for the description of the mood of a recipient of a prophecy, see the appendix to this chapter.

¹¹ For this scene, cf. Kühn (1971) 33, Heinze (1957) 312–13; for confirmation generally, see the appendix to this chapter.

¹² On the results of Venus' deception of Aeneas, see the upcoming Anchises section. On these scenes, cf. Block (1981) 56 and 176–84, Kühn (1971) 28–34, Hübner (1970) 113–17, and my chap. 4, on links between Aeneas' encouragement of his men at 1.195–209, Jupiter's prophecy to Venus, and Venus' words to Aeneas here.

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cuere parentes (392, “unless my parents have given me vain and empty teaching of augury”).¹³ This type of qualification or limitation, in which someone giving a prophecy says, “unless divination is useless,” is more common in Vergil and the other Augustans than has been noted.¹⁴ I call it the “*si non vana motif*,” after Propertius 3.6.31: *si non vana canunt mea somnia* (“if my dreams do not sing empty things”). Venus’ words here have been interpreted by scholars as showing her skepticism about augury, or conversely great confidence in it, or just Venus’ or Vergil’s sense of humor.¹⁵ In this study I shall show that this motif’s effect in the *Aeneid* is best shown by the analysis of this line by the fourth-century commentator Servius: *per hoc decipere plerumque ostendit auguria* (“through this she shows that auguries for the most part deceive”).¹⁶ The *si non vana* motif adds an element of doubt to many prophecy scenes.

Typical Features

It will be helpful to list here some recurrent features of scenes of prophecies or omens in the *Aeneid*.¹⁷ The following typical

¹³ Translation from Austin (1971); see his parallels for the pleonasm of *frustra . . . vani*.

¹⁴ See the appendix to this chapter.

¹⁵ Bréguet (1956) 56: “Quel scepticisme exprime cette jeune fille à l’égard d’une science divine, d’un enseignement transmis par ses parents!”; Liechtenhan (1957) 54: “Der Konditionalsatz setzt nicht Zweifel in die Tatsache, sondern bekräftigt sie”; Austin (1971) *ad* 392: “an amusing piece of acting by the ‘Tyrian girl,’ still keeping up her role, and a good example of Virgil’s subtle humor.”

¹⁶ On the value of Servius, see Ross (1987) 29–30, with references at p. 243. With the *si non vana* motif often the speaker intends no doubt (cf. Page [1909] *ad Aen.* 3.433, Fränkel [1968] *ad Apoll. Rhod.* 3.549, and more generally Stinton [1976] 60–89), but other features of the contexts suggest that prophecy is vain. The rhetorical goals of the speaker and the poetic goals of the author often differ. My reading is, I think, supported by the comments of G. Williams (1983) 203–14 on *si qua* and *si quid* in Vergil, and Thomas (1982) 17, 80, and 109 on *si credis* in ethnographical *thaumasia*.

¹⁷ Brief comments on typical scenes of “manifestations of Divine Will” in

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elements need not all occur in any one scene; those found in the Venus-Aeneas scene are noted in parentheses.

1. description of the setting and of the mood of the recipient, who is usually discouraged before the prophecy (as Aeneas is here);
2. claim of divine authority (implicit in Venus' epiphany);
3. qualification of the prophecy through the *si non vana* motif (as here);
4. the encouraging prophecy, generally a call from inaction to action, often with the omission of or hidden reference to the death of one individual, or some other discouraging event (here Venus' augury is carefully phrased to encourage Aeneas by omitting mention of Orontes and Juno, with clear signs in the text calling attention to these omissions);
5. request for, promise of, or receiving of confirmation of the prophecy, often by a miraculous sign or by fulfillment of part of the prophecy (here we have Venus' epiphany, and the fulfillment of most of what she said about the return of the men and ships);
6. prayer by the recipient, perhaps also sacrifice; indication of his acceptance of the prophecy or omen and his willingness to follow the divine command;
7. description of the resulting mood of the recipient (here we see the immediate negative reaction of Aeneas to the prophecy, but also its eventual effect of encouraging him).

I shall point out how an example fits this pattern only when relevant to a point of interpretation. At times Vergil uses the similarity of two scenes to suggest that two characters' experiences with prophecy are comparable. Full references for the

the *Aeneid* in Arend (1933) 144-48. For typical elements of prodigy scenes, see Stockinger (1959) 99-109, Grassmann-Fischer (1966), and Kleinknecht (1963). Peradotto (1974) 803-32 gives a tentative "typology of Greek prophecy-tales."

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occurrences of these features are collected in an appendix to this chapter.

PALINURUS

In introducing some aspects of the *Aeneid*'s pattern of deceptively optimistic prophecies, the preceding pages have attempted to answer a simple question: Why does Vergil have Venus make what some have called a "trivial" prophecy about the return of Aeneas' ships, which "is shortly to be self-evident"?¹⁸ A similar question must be asked about Palinurus, who is the object of a prophecy described at 6.343-46, and whom Vergil connects with Orontes in a number of ways.

Aeneas sees Palinurus in the underworld, after a brief and somewhat unexpected appearance of Orontes:

cernit ibi maestos et mortis honore carentis
Leucaspim et Lyciae ductorem classis Oronten,
quos simul a Troia ventosa per aequora vectos
obruit Auster, aqua involvens navemque virosque.
Ecce gubernator sese Palinurus agebat. . . .

(6.333-37)

(There he sees, sad and lacking the rites of the dead, Leucaspis and the leader of the Lycian fleet, Orontes, whom after they sailed from Troy over the windy sea the South wind swamped, rolling in water the ship and its men. And look, the helmsman Palinurus was coming. . . .)

Vergil's details are significant; the association of Palinurus with Orontes here must be deliberate. Aeneas asks Palinurus (who fell off his ship shortly before the Trojans reached Cumae), how he could have died, after an oracle of Apollo foretold that he would reach Italy safely:

¹⁸ Mack (1978) 77; cf. my n.64 in this chapter on the prophecy of Cymodocea. Many of the scenes to be treated in this study have been called trivial, or flawed.

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dic age. namque mihi, fallax haud ante repertus,
hoc uno responso animum delusit Apollo,
qui fore te ponto incolumem finisque canebat
venturum Ausonios. en haec promissa fides est?
(343-46)

(Tell me. For Apollo, who never proved false before,
with this prediction alone deceived me, when he sang
that you'd be safe at sea and reach the Ausonian shores.
Is this how he keeps promises?)

The actual prophecy has taken place offstage, as it were, to be reported by Aeneas and mentioned nowhere else. We are left to wonder about the setting of the oracle, and its effect at that time on Aeneas. Palinurus assures Aeneas that he has not been deceived, and tells him that the prophecy was literally true, for he did reach Italy, by swimming, and was killed on shore by natives. Apollo's words thus resemble the "Deceptive Warning" common in prophecies in ancient and other literatures, except that here the false feeling of security is created not by the implication "if you do *x*, you will be safe," but by a simple promise.¹⁹ As with Orontes, we see an optimistic prophecy that omits mention of a death, but this time the omission is more disturbing. A commentator notes that this passage "brings out some of those problems of *pietas* that exercised Virgil's mind: Aeneas must not think that Apollo had played him false. . . ." ²⁰ Aeneas' confidence in the success of

¹⁹ On the *avertissement égarant* or *trompant*, see Fontenrose (1978) 20 and 58-78, who says (p. 62) that the traditional term *avertissement incompris* wrongly "implies a fault in the recipient, as if he had misunderstood or failed to understand that which was difficult or obscure, yet comprehensible if only his wits were greater. But the gods and manteis of these stories do not intend that the oracle receiver shall understand, no matter how wise or prudent he may be." Liechtenhan (1957) 57-58 represents one kind of approach to this passage: Aeneas only mistrusts Apollo because his heroism has not yet been perfected. According to Segal (1965) 649, "the prophecy . . . is fulfilled in the barest, cruellest terms."

²⁰ Austin (1971) *ad* 337-83.

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his mission does indeed depend on his trust in Apollo and his other sources of prophetic information; but in this instance he should realize that he has in fact been deceived. Apollo conceals the truth; his prophecy was obviously worded so as to mislead, as in the useless warnings of folklore, and Aeneas might well be alarmed by this example of deception. He has just been told by Apollo's Sibyl that the Trojans will reach their goal in Italy safely, but will regret it:

in regna Lavini
Dardanidae venient (mitte hanc de pectore curam),
sed non et venisse volent. (6.84–86)

(The Dardanians will come to the kingdom of Lavinium—put this worry from your heart—but they will wish they had not come.)

Palinurus' explanation that his death does not contradict Apollo's prophecy is also like the interpretation later proposed by Turnus for the prophecies about Aeneas and the Trojans (and condemned by some commentators as "sophistry"²¹):

nil me fatalia terrent,
si qua Phryges prae se iactant, responsa deorum;
sat fatis Venerique datum, tetigere quod arva
fertilis Ausoniae Troes. sunt et mea contra
fata mihi. . . . (9.133–37)

(The fateful responses of the gods that the Phrygians may brandish hold no terror for me. Enough has been granted to Venus and the fates that the Trojans have touched the fields of fertile Ausonia. For I too have my fated role to play. . . .)

We might also be reminded of Dido's curse for Aeneas to die soon after he has reached Italy: *cadat ante diem mediaque inhu-*

²¹ See chap. 2, n.29.

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matus harena (4.620, "let him fall before his day, unburied in the middle of the sand"). I shall look more closely at Aeneas' fate in chapter 3; in 6.363ff. he is given little time to think about the prophecy, as Palinurus presses his request for burial.

Orontes, Palinurus, and Sacrifice

Most of the similarities between the deaths of Orontes and Palinurus will have been obvious. A further link of considerable importance is that both are also associated with the *Aeneid*'s motif of sacrifice. Vergil links Orontes with sacrifice through the kind of precise and allusive use of language typical of the learned Alexandrian or Augustan poet, in a passage that has not been well understood. Readers have long complained about Vergil's apparently gratuitous display of geographical erudition at 1.108–10, in the description of the storm that kills Orontes:

tris (*sc. naves*) Notus abreptas in saxa latentia torquet
(saxa vocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus Aras,
dorsum immane mari summo). . . .

(The South wind snatches three ships and hurls them at hidden rocks [rocks in the middle of the waves that the Italians call Altars, a huge "back" at the water's edge]. . . .)

Scholars once understood neither the manner nor the point of these lines. One criticized line 109 as being "flat and pedantic"; some wanted to delete it as a prosaic interpolation.²² A more recent commentator cites parallels from Vergil and Callimachus, and defends the style of the lines with scholarly precision: "it is an artistically planned footnote . . . put in a typi-

²² MacKail, quoted by Austin (1971) *ad* 109, called the line "flat and pedantic." Ribbeck, Heyne, Peerlkamp, and Bryant wanted to delete it. The line was also defended as Vergilian, if not good; cf. Heyne-Wagner (1830–41) and Forbiger (1873).

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cally Virgilian parenthesis . . . and reflecting the Alexandrian manner and technique.”²³ In speaking of the content and function of the line, however, the same scholar becomes less precise:

Virgil was in any case interested in the kind of detail that he offers here; it is as if he wishes to give his readers (“Itali”) the pleasure of looking at a map with him and of identifying the very place where these mythical events occurred; there is something too of a historian’s manner. . . .

These lines would greatly disappoint the tour guide or historian, for “Virgil has transferred to a suitable location some rocks of this name which Pliny mentions as lying between Sicily and Sardinia.”²⁴ Vergil in fact confounds those interested in “identifying the very place where these mythical events occurred.” The stress that he gives to the name of these rocks shows not mere antiquarian or geographical pedantry but Callimachean learning serving serious poetic intent. Servius Auctus preserves the report of an Augustan geographer that some called these rocks ἵππου νώτα, “Horse’s Back.” Vergil gives us one name, *Aras*, then alludes to another (*dorsum* in 110 = νώτα, “back”), to stress that he is making a choice.²⁵ He says in effect, “I am deliberately calling these rocks not ‘Back,’ as some do, but ‘Altars.’ ” Vergil has underlined the significance of the name *Aras* here with what we might call an etymolog-

²³ Austin (1971) *ad* 109.

²⁴ Austin *ibid.*, citing Pliny *NH* 5.42. On the location of the rocks, cf. the guesses recorded in Austin (1971), Conington (1963), and Forbiger (1873).

²⁵ Serv. Auct. *ad* 110: ‘*dorsum*’ *autem hoc loco non absurde ait, quia Graecae arae ipsae ἵππου νώτα dicuntur, ut Sinnius Capito tradidit* (GRF I 460). Sinnius Capito’s date is secure; see *RE* 5 col. 246–47 s.v. “Sinnius” (no. 2) (Klotz). Cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.246, where Vergil uses the word *mare* to refer to the Timavus River: *amat poeta rem historiae carmini suo coniungere; Varro enim dicit hunc fluvium ab incolis mare nominari*.

Cf. Ross (1987) 28: “Virgil . . . used no proper name or adjective gratuitously. Every geographical designation . . . has . . . some real purpose.”

ical signpost. The reference to alternate names, and the phrase *saxa vocant Itali* ("rocks that the Italians call . . ."), make these lines resemble the significant and thematically suggestive etymologizing found elsewhere in Vergil and in other poets, particularly the Alexandrians.²⁶ Here, as often for Vergil and for many ancients, the name expresses the true essence of a thing.²⁷ Vergil forcefully calls the rocks "Altars," in a line use-

²⁶ Some examples of Alexandrians and Vergil showing concern for etymology by using words like *nomen* or *vocare* or by mentioning Greek and Roman equivalents: Callim. *Hec.* fr. 288Pf.: Σκύλλα . . . οὐ ψύθος οὔνομ' ἔχουσα, *Aet.* fr. 11.5-6Pf.: ἄστυρον ἐκτίσσαντο, τὸ κεν 'Φυνγάδων' τις ἐνίσποι/ Γραικός, ἀτὰρ κείνων γλῶσσ' ὀνόμηνε 'Πόλας' (on these, see Shechter [1975] 359), *Hec.* fr. 301Pf., *Jov.* 44, *Ap.* 47, 69ff., 199, 205, *Del.* 36, 52; Nicander *Alex.* 346; Apoll. Rhod. 2.908-10: ἠὺλίζετο . . . ἔξ οὗ . . . Αὐλιον ἄντρον ἐπωνυμίην καλέουσιν, 1.591, 2.746, 3.5, 276-77, 4.569-71, 1695-96; Aratus *Phaen.* 27: Ἀρκτοὶ ἅμα τροχόωσι, τὸ δὴ καλέονται Ἀμαξαί, 66, 220-21, 245, 315, 330-32; Euphorion fr. 56P, 96P: Βοιωτὸν δ' ὀνόμηνε: τὸ γὰρ καλέσαντο νομῆες . . . ; Verg. *Geo.* 3.280-81: *hippomanes vero quod nomine dicunt/ pastores* (see Jacobson [1982] 217; on this and the next two examples, see Shechter [1975] 360-65, 379-80, Thomas [1982a], and especially Ross [1987] 11-15, 143, 166, 212-13); 3.147-48: *volitans, cui nomen asilo/ Romanum est, oestrum Grai vertere vocantes*; 4.271-72: *flos in pratis cui nomen amello/ fecere agricolae*; *Aen.* 1.367: *facti de nomine Byrsam* (Bartelink [1965] 44); 3.210: *Strophades Graio stant nomine dictae* (Bartelink [1965] 56); 693: *Plemyrrium undosum; nomen dixere priores/ Ortygiam* (Bartelink [1965] 54); 6.763-65: *Silvius, Albanum nomen, . . . quem . . . Lavinia . . . educet silvis* (Bartelink 70); 7.412: *magnum manet Ardea nomen* (Bartelink [1965] 42); 777: *versoque ubi nomine Virbius esset* (Fordyce [1977] ad 761ff. et al.); 8.322-23: *Latiumque vocari/ maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris* (Bartelink [1965] 49, Thomas [1982] 101 and n.45); 8.338-39: *Carmentalem Romani nomine portam/ quam memorant, nymphae priscum Carmentis honorem*; 11.246-47: *ille urbem Argyripam patriae cognomine gentis/ victor Gargani condebat Iapygis agris* (Bartelink [1965] 43). Cf. also Enn. *Alex.* fr. 64J (= 38R = 53V): *quapropter Parim pastores nunc Alexandrum vocant*. For etymologizing terminology in (mostly archaic) Greek poetry, cf. Rank (1951) 25-26, 136-43, and see an example from Herodotus in my n.28. I take the term "etymological signpost" from Shechter (1975) 359.

²⁷ "The Greeks and Romans . . . regarded conclusions about names and their derivations as conclusions about things"; Cairns (1979) 90, in a good basic introduction to ancient thinking on etymologies. The comprehensive work on Vergil is Bartelink (1965), with references to most earlier literature but regrettably with no *index locorum* or *verborum*. Much work has been done on Vergil and others since Bartelink; see especially Due (1973); Ross (1973),

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less but for this purpose, in order to suggest that near them (he is not so blunt as to say *on* them) the first of many sacrifices in the *Aeneid* takes place, as Orontes and his men die to fulfill Juno's commands.²⁸

Palinurus is associated with sacrifice more overtly. In Book 5, when Aeneas is leaving Sicily after the anniversary games for Anchises, he sacrifices to Eryx and the storm gods to secure a favorable passage, and throws the offerings into the sea: *extaque salsos/ proicit in fluctus ac vina liquentia fundit* (5.775–76, “he throws the entrails into the salty waves and pours flowing wine”). This sacrifice recalls the one vowed by Cloanthus earlier in the boat race of Book 5, in which he declares: *extaque salsos/ proiciam in fluctus et vina liquentia fundam* (5.237–38, “I shall throw the entrails into the salty waves and pour flowing wine”). The divinities who hear Cloanthus' vow immediately propel him to victory (238–43).²⁹ Aeneas' ritual sacrifice, however, is not enough, for it is immediately followed by the

(1975), and (1987); Morland (1973), with references to his earlier work; Kraggerud (1960); Shechter (1975); Boyd (1983); Thomas (1982a); Hardie (1986) index s.v. “etymological play”; and O'Hara (forthcoming *HSCP*). See also Ahl (1985) on Ovid, and Snyder (1980) on Lucretius.

²⁸ Bartelink (1965) 89n.1 cites Servius' note but doubts that Vergil is playing with *dorsum* and νότα. The connection of Orontes with sacrifice is briefly noted by DiCesare (1974) 216 and Bandera (1981) 215–16, who mentions the appropriateness of the name *Arae*.

Herod. 7.183 mentions rocks with a significant name: the reef called Μύρμηξ, “Ant,” perhaps because the reef's ability to rend the hull of a ship suggests the cutting bite of the ant (Poliakoff [1982] 59).

Sallust *Iug.* 78 gives the etymology of *Syrtes*: *ab tractu nominatae* (cf. σῦρξιν, “to sweep”); Vergil mentions the nearby *Syrtes* in 1.111, and Servius *ad loc.* quotes the description of them in *Iug.* 78.

Lord (1965) 184 suggests that in *Od.* 24, Hermes guides the suitors past Leucas, the White Rock, because its associations with human sacrifice indicate that the suitors are killed “as sacrifice or purification for Odysseus.” For wider associations of the White Rock, see Nagy (1973) 137–77.

²⁹ On the link between these scenes, see Putnam (1965) 92–94, Kraggerud (1968) 166ff., and Moskalew (1982) 145–46. Moskalew says, “The implication of this parallel is that Aeneas, like Cloanthus, will meet with success,” ignoring the need for the sacrifice of Palinurus, i.e., the difference between games and real life.

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conversation of Venus and Neptune, in which Venus complains of Juno's anger (*Iunonis gravis ira* 781), and Neptune tells her that Aeneas will reach the shores of Italy, but not without one more sacrifice:

tutus, quos optas, portus accedet Averni.
unus erit tantum amissum quem gurgite quaeres;
unum pro multis dabitur caput. (813-15)

(He will safely reach the harbor of Avernus, as you wish.
There will only be one you seek lost in the waves; one life
will be given for many.)

Neptune calms the waves, then in effect takes his price: Somnus descends and draws Palinurus into the waves and to his death.³⁰

I shall explain in chapter 3 how the depiction of the deaths of Orontes and Palinurus as sacrifices fits the theme of death and the optimistic prophecy. For now, I shall review the similarities between the two men's deaths: they are mentioned one after another in Book 6; they die at sea as sacrificial victims,³¹ as Neptune works to calm the sea in opposition to Juno's wrath; they are singled out as one among many; both

³⁰ That Palinurus says in the underworld that he was not killed until reaching shore does not change the thematic import of the scene in Book 5. Although I argue elsewhere in this study that many inconsistencies in the *Aeneid* are deliberate and suggestive, I do not make this claim about the discrepancies between the treatment of Palinurus in Books 5 and 6, about which I have nothing new to say. These inconsistencies are not especially relevant to my argument: the conflict between prophecy and outcome in the case of Palinurus is revealed not by the reader's comparison of different scenes, but by Aeneas' words in Book 6.

On Palinurus as sacrifice, cf. Steiner (1952) 81-82, Putnam (1965) 92-99, and Bandera (1981).

³¹ Cf. also Misenus, whose "sacrifice" seems necessary for the descent to the underworld, and whose funeral services (6.212-35) directly precede the ritual sacrifices before the descent, as noted by Otis (1963) 288.

Similarities between Orontes and Palinurus are noted by Putnam (1965) 220n.12 and Thaniel (1972) 149-52.

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deaths cause great pain to Aeneas (1.220–22, 5.869–71); and finally, both deaths are omitted from an optimistic prophecy given to Aeneas. These prophecies thus do not tell him of the cost of his success, and the sacrifices that will be required of him, but obscure the truth to encourage him. They “feign hope on the surface.”

ANCHISES, AND AENEAS' SACRIFICES TO JUNO

Aeneas ends the story of his wanderings by lamenting the unexpected death of his father:

heu, genitorem, omnis curae casusque levamen,
amitto Anchisen. hic me, pater optime, fessum
deseris, heu, tantis nequiquam erepte periclis!
nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret,
hos mihi praedixit luctus, non dira Celaeno.
(3.709–13)

(Alas, I lost my father Anchises, who lightened every care and misfortune. Here, best of fathers, you left me in my weariness, alas, after I'd saved you in vain from so many dangers! Neither the prophet Helenus, though he warned of many dreadful things, nor the baleful Celaeno predicted such grief for me.)

Richard Heinze said that in 712–13, Vergil and Aeneas were not commenting on what is included in or omitted from prophecies, but rather were simply showing the affection of the son for the father, by saying that the loss of Anchises was more painful than anything that Helenus or Celaeno predicted.³² This is probably a correct reading of the surface meaning here, but with Vergil the precise phrasing is important. Vergil has chosen this particular way of expressing Ae-

³² Heinze (1957) 98n.1.

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neas' affection for Anchises in order to bring this death into the pattern of deaths omitted from prophecies, to evoke again the idea that events repeatedly betray Aeneas' expectations, because of what he has been told by gods and prophets.

In this section I shall look at the omission of Anchises' death from the prophecies of the Harpy Celaeno and of Helenus, with more attention to the latter, which will lead to discussion of the dream-apparition of the river-god Tiberinus in Book 8, and of the repeated prophetic deception of Aeneas about the role of Juno in his misfortunes.

Celaeno's prophecy follows the clash between the Trojans and Harpies; she says that Aeneas and his men will be punished for eating the Harpies' cattle:

ibitis Italiam portusque intrare licebit.
sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem
quam vos dira fames nostraeque iniuria caedis
ambesas subigat malis absumere mensas. (3.254–57)

(You will go to Italy and be allowed to enter the harbor.
But you will not gird your destined city with walls before
baleful hunger and the wrong you've done in attacking us
forces you to eat and devour your tables.)

This should remind us of other prophecies that the Trojans will reach Italy, but will regret it. But this is a falsely pessimistic prophecy, the fulfillment of which is painless, involving the eating of "tables" made of grain (7.109ff.).³³ At the same time, Celaeno's prophecy is doubly effective in achieving her goal of hurting the Trojans, for she causes them to be worried needlessly now, and optimistic in Book 7 when they are actually on the brink of great trials and suffering in Italy.³⁴

³³ On trivial fulfillment of prophecies, see Fontenrose (1978) 68ff., who cites the *locus classicus* Herod. 1.120.3.

³⁴ I pass over the difficulties and subtleties of the Harpy episode and Celaeno's prophecy. See Rabel (1985) 317–25, Mack (1978) 60, and Block (1981) 232–36. On Aeneas' later attribution of this prophecy to Anchises, cf. R. D.

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Celaeno's omission of Anchises' death is understandable. Servius *ad* 3.713 explains why Aeneas thinks she should have told him about his father: *NON DIRA CELAENO quae vel irata debuit adversa praedicere* ("Nor the baleful Celaeno' who in her anger ought to have predicted misfortunes"). Servius' comment on Juno *ad* 3.379 is more insightful psychologically, however, and could hold for Celaeno as well: *prohibet autem scire mortem patris ad augendum inopinatum dolorem* ("She prevents him from knowing about the death of the father to make the pain unexpected and so greater"). The unexpected nature of Anchises' death increases Aeneas' pain.

Helenus, unlike Celaeno, is favorably disposed toward Aeneas. He must begin his prophecy, however, by warning Aeneas that he cannot tell him everything:

pauca tibi e multis . . .
expediam dictis; prohibent nam cetera Parcae
scire Helenum farique vetat Saturnia Iuno.
(3.377, 379–80)

(I shall explain to you . . . a little out of much; the rest the Parcae keep Helenus from knowing, and Juno forbids to speak.)

He ends with a similar disclaimer: *haec sunt quae nostra liceat te voce moneri* (3.461, "these are the warnings that I am allowed to give to you"). Line 461 follows naturally after the injunction to seek more information from the Sibyl (440–60). The earlier passage is somewhat problematical, especially 379–80, for logically Helenus need not be forbidden by Juno to speak what he has been prohibited from knowing.³⁵ Still, it seems

Williams (1962) 21, Büchner (1955) col. 1395, Heinze (1957) 89, Grassmann-Fischer (1966) 43, and especially Block (1981) 234–35.

³⁵ Cf. the efforts of Servius, Henry (1873–92), Conington (1963), R. D. Williams (1972), and Coleman (1982) 167n.43; no explanation is completely satisfying. Servius punctuates after *scire*, making Aeneas its subject, with Helenus the subject of *fari*, but he must dismiss the *que* of *farique* (*vacat* 'que,' *ut*

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clear that Aeneas' relentless persecutor Juno has the ability here to control what he may be told about the future. The importance of this has not been stressed enough, and will become more apparent as we proceed. Divination in the *Aeneid* can be tampered with by one's enemies. Here Juno indeed, to use Servius' words again, "prevents Aeneas from knowing about the death of the father to make the pain unexpected and so greater."³⁶

Vergil even calls attention to the lack of reference to Anchises in Helenus' prophecy. Helenus tells Aeneas that the Sibyl will explain to him how to fight the wars to come in Italy:

illa tibi . . . bella
et quo quemque modo fugiasque ferasque laborem
expediet. . . . (458–60)

(She will explain to you . . . the wars and how you may
avoid or bear each labor.)

In the underworld, the Sibyl speaks little of this, and it is Anchises who provides this information, as Vergil virtually repeats line 3.459 at 6.892: *et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem*. Some say this is an inconsistency that Vergil would have eliminated had he lived,³⁷ but it is striking that so many of the inconsistencies in the *Aeneid* occur in prophecies. It may be that the "error" here is deliberate: Helenus cannot predict

solet frequenter—on *vacat* in Servius, see Kaster [1980] 232); alternately one might say that the *que* has simply been postponed. Williams accepts Henry's view that the line is an example of theme and variation; Coleman makes some tentative suggestions, but admits that "the construction of the sentence is odd."

³⁶ Servius *ad* 3.379 again; the Latin is cited previously in this text. One of Vergil's models for Helenus' speech is the prophecy of Phineus to the Argonauts at Apoll. Rhod. 2.311–16. At one time Phineus had revealed Jupiter's plans, against his wishes, but now, out of fear of him, he will not do so. Cf. Duckworth (1933) 85–86, 102, and n.212, and see upcoming text.

³⁷ Cf. Heinze (1957) 440n.1, Norden (1957) 347, Austin (1977) *ad* 6.892, and Moore (1921) 137.

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to Aeneas what will actually happen, that the shade of his father will explain these things to him, because he cannot tell him that Anchises will die. Vergil calls attention to the omission of Anchises' death from Helenus' prophecy, as he earlier subtly called attention to the omission of Orontes from Venus' interpretation of the omen of the swans. Many inconsistent statements in prophecies have long been regarded as flaws, and as evidence of Vergil's inability to revise the *Aeneid* before his death; the pattern of omission of deaths and other unpleasant material from optimistic prophecies suggests that such inconsistencies are products not of Vergil's inattention, but of his artistry. This will become more clear, and more plausible (for the case at hand is not very certain³⁸), in later examples.

Helenus' failure to mention Anchises' death grows more significant when viewed as part of a larger pattern of deception in his speech. Helenus omits mention not only of the death of Anchises, but also of Juno's storm at sea and the whole episode at Carthage. At the point in Helenus' basically chronological prophecy where he might have referred to these matters, he speaks more generally of Juno:

praeterea, si qua est Heleno prudentia vati,
 si qua fides, animum si veris implet Apollo,
 unum illud tibi, nate dea, proque omnibus unum
 praedicam et repetens iterumque iterumque monebo,
 Iunonis magnae primum prece numen adora,
 Iunoni cane vota libens dominamque potentem
 supplicibus supera donis: sic denique victor
 Trinacria finis Italos mittere relicta. (3.433-40)

³⁸ The inconsistency here is in part a traditional element of the visit to the underworld. In *Od.* 10. 538-40, Circe tells Odysseus that Tiresias will tell him how to get home, but she herself provides this information at 12. 37-110. The story of Cyrene, Aristaeus, and Proteus in *Geo.* 4 is somewhat similar. But in *Aen.* 3 Vergil may be adapting a traditional feature to his pattern of the deceptive or incomplete prophecy. Later examples of significant "errors" will be more clear-cut.

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(Moreover, if Helenus as prophet has any foresight, if any credence, if Apollo fills my heart with the truth, this one thing, son of a goddess, above all else I shall predict and repeating again and again will warn: great Juno's godhead first adore with prayers, to Juno readily sing vows, and overcome the powerful mistress with suppliant gifts. This is how finally as victor you will leave Sicily behind and reach Italian shores.)

Helenus begins with a version of the *si non vana* motif, here in emphatic tricolon, and tells Aeneas to overcome Juno, who is named in a kind of triple polyptoton (*Iunonis . . . Iunoni . . . dominam* 438–39), with gifts (*supera donis* 439).³⁹ These lines, as has been noted, do not explicitly mention, yet seem to point toward, Juno's storm.⁴⁰ If Helenus knows or vaguely senses something about Anchises, the storm and Carthage, and the role of Juno in these events, he can only tell Aeneas to sacrifice to Juno. Earlier we saw Venus omit mention of Juno's hostility (1.386–401). Helenus tells Aeneas that Juno's opposition is important, but, after a *si non vana* disclaimer, says that Aeneas can overcome her with suppliant offerings. This is misleading. Aeneas sacrifices to Juno (3.546–47), but her response is to send the storm that threatens to kill him in Book 1, and Aeneas will be saved not by his gifts to Juno but by the intercession of Neptune. Aeneas himself will never win over Juno, and his offerings to her here and elsewhere are useless, or at least inadequate. Even in Book 12, when Juno yields to Jupiter and agrees to let Aeneas kill Turnus, she is not overcome by past offerings or supplication; rather she overcomes Jupiter with her begging, and gets him to agree that the Trojan name should die out.

One way to defend Helenus' words is to say that Aeneas'

³⁹ In saying *si qua* . . . , Helenus may not intend to express doubt (Page [1909] *ad* 3.433), but we must note Vergil's habit of using this motif with prophecies he depicts as flawed or useless.

⁴⁰ Heinze (1957) 98n.1 saw in these lines "einen unzweideutigen Hinweis auf den Seesturm."

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sacrifices are responsible for keeping Juno's anger within certain boundaries, and that without the sacrifices, she would have been even more formidable and troublesome. Prophecies in the *Aeneid*—and in the real world of antiquity—often lend themselves to this kind of interpretation, which makes them true but deceptive; it is important to remember that this is not the impression that Aeneas is given. Prophecies that deceive through lies and those that deceive through intentional obscurity or ambiguity serve nearly an identical function in the narrative. In reading Helenus' speech we must also remember that Juno has been able somehow to exert control over his prophecy (3.380); it is almost as though instead of presenting a true picture of her implacable wrath and how to appease it, she has fed Aeneas the vain admonition to sacrifice to her. Vergil's placement of this useless advice at the point in Helenus' speech where he might have mentioned both the death of Anchises, and the storm at Carthage, calls attention to these omissions. "The uselessness of any attempt to mollify Juno is clear to the reader; Aeneas' pitiable state of ignorance is brought into relief just as he seems to be receiving clarification."⁴¹

These observations on the prophecy and injunctions of Helenus have been built on the assumption that Juno does not give up her opposition to Aeneas until the closing scenes of Book 12. The argument becomes stronger when one realizes that even there her change of heart is not fully satisfying or comforting. Recently scholars have explored some of the disturbing elements of the *evocatio* of Juno in Book 12, and have shown that Juno's opposition to Aeneas and his descendants continues through the Punic Wars, both in the pre-Vergilian tradition and in Vergil's repeated deliberate evocations of that tradition. The details of their arguments will not be repeated here, but we may note that when Jupiter says in Book 1, "in-

⁴¹ Block (1981) 238. Note 3.393, where Helenus says that when Aeneas sees the sow, *is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum*. Aeneas' troubles will be far from over when he sees the sow. Heinze (1957) 98 is probably right to say that the description of Aeneas' sacrifice to Juno at 3.546 stands "instar omnium" for numerous sacrifices to Juno not described.

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deed harsh Juno will change her plans for the better" (1.279, 281), he and Vergil are placing this change not at the end of the *Aeneid*, but in its traditional chronological position, "after the death of Aeneas, after the founding of the city of Rome."⁴²

This more attentive reading of the end of the poem increases the already considerable difference between Vergil and some of his models for the Helenus scene. There is some precedent for Helenus' words about Juno in the *Odyssey*, where Tiresias tells Odysseus that he should sacrifice to Poseidon after arriving home, without telling him what he will suffer from Poseidon's anger before that.⁴³ Tiresias, however, describes Odysseus' future toils far more accurately than Helenus does Aeneas', and there is no claim that Odysseus' sacrifice, which is to take place much later, will placate or overcome Poseidon.⁴⁴ Both Calypso and Circe warn Odysseus about the troubles he will face, and try to discourage him from leaving; prophets in the *Aeneid* generally encourage Aeneas to continue. The advice of Helenus also parallels that of the prophet Phineus in Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica*. Phineus tells the Argonauts that they will be successful if they appeal to Aphrodite, and indeed Jason wins out in Colchis because of Medea's love. Since Aphrodite, unlike Juno, is a friendly goddess, some dismiss this parallel,⁴⁵ but the contrast of Vergil with his predecessors is instructive. The considerable accuracy of Homer's Tiresias and Apollonius' Phineus helps to emphasize the uselessness and deceptiveness of the words of Helenus.

Tiberinus

The deception of Aeneas about Juno is a prominent feature of prophecy in the *Aeneid*, appearing, as we have seen, in the passage in Book 1 where Venus misleads Aeneas, and in several

⁴² Feeney (1984) 180; cf. Johnson (1976) 123–27, Feeney (1984) 179–94, Harrison (1984) 111–15, Lyne (1987) 87–89, and my chap. 4, Jupiter and Venus section.

⁴³ *Od.* 11.130ff.; see Heinze (1957) 98 and Knauer (1964) 201–3.

⁴⁴ Buchheit (1963) 134.

⁴⁵ Buchheit (1963) 134; the reference is to Apoll. Rhod. 2.423–25.

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other scenes. Helenus' empty words in Book 3 are like those of the river-god Tiberinus, who tells Aeneas to sacrifice to Juno in the dream vision at 8.36–65:

surge age, nate dea, primisque cadentibus astris
Iunoni fer rite preces, iramque minasque
supplicibus supera votis. mihi victor honorem
persolves. (8.59–62)

(Rise up, son of a goddess, and as the first stars set pray
ritually to Juno, and overcome her anger and threats with
suppliant vows. As victor you will pay honor to me.)

The similarity to 3.435–39 is obvious: again Aeneas is told that he will become a *victor* by overcoming the anger of Juno with prayers.⁴⁶ Tiberinus' whole speech is a more extreme case of deceptive prophetic encouragement than the scenes with Helenus or Venus, which it resembles. In all three cases Aeneas is worried and disconsolate. This is the description of the usually gloomy mood of a prophecy-recipient found in so many scenes.⁴⁷ In Book 8, after Tiberinus' greeting and initial encouragement (35–39), he tells Aeneas that all the gods' anger has yielded: *tumor omnis et irae/ concessere deum* (40–41, "all the passion and angers of the gods have yielded"). This is simply not true. Juno is as angry and hostile as ever, and Allecto's recent work represents the peak of Juno's *furor*.⁴⁸ Tiberinus'

⁴⁶ Cf. Moskalew (1982) 123 and Buchheit (1963) 136. Buchheit 133ff. explains that both scenes remind the *reader* how important Juno's wrath is, but he does not consider their effect on Aeneas, or their deceptiveness. On the Tiberinus scene Kühn (1971) 117 says, "Das *supplicibus supera votis* ist so etwas wie die erste Stufe zu Junos Umkehr—*consilia in melius referet* [1.281]—die sich im 12. Buch vollziehen wird." I see no support for this in the text, or for the view of Putnam (1965) 112 and Walsh *apud* Fordyce (1977) xxv that the sacrifice to Juno ensures the calm river journey to Pallanteum.

⁴⁷ See Appendix to chap. 1. Servius says that Tiberinus' words at 8.61b are designed to take away Aeneas' *bellica cura*; see chap. 4, Jupiter and Venus section.

⁴⁸ See Fordyce (1977) *ad* 41, Wiesen (1973) 748n.2, and Lyne (1987) 83. Ser-

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lie is like Venus' at 1.387–88, where she tells Aeneas that he is “not hateful to the immortal gods” (*haud, credo, invisus caelestibus*). Tiberinus vouches for his lie with a variation on the *si non vana* motif (which, as we saw, appears also in the scenes with Helenus and Venus), as he promises Aeneas the sow omen:

iamque tibi, ne vana putes haec fingere somnum,
litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus. . . .
(8.42–43)

(Now, so that you won't think these the empty fabrications of a dream, for you a huge sow, found under the riverbank's oaks. . . .)⁴⁹

When Aeneas awakes, he sees the sow and sacrifices her to Juno, understandably thinking that if the sign is provided and part of the prophecy is fulfilled then everything that the river-god says is true.⁵⁰ Aeneas learns from Helenus and Tiberinus that Juno's anger is a force to be reckoned with, but their words make him think that he can deal with it through prayer and sacrifice. Roman religion generally maintained that the anger of the gods could be overcome with sacrifice. In its

vius preserves feeble attempts to acquit Tiberinus of the lie (also followed by some moderns). One tradition in Servius Auctus is honest: *alii ita tradunt: nondum concesserunt, sed utiliter dissimulat*. Eden (1975) *ad* 41 has a full discussion, concluding like Auctus' *alii* that Tiberinus does lie, but well and acceptably, because Aeneas needs to be encouraged. I shall discuss this idea in chap. 3.

⁴⁹ The phrasing here resembles not only *Ecl.* 8.108: *an, qui amant, ipsi sibi somnia fingunt?*, but also Lucretius *DRN* 1.104–5: *quam multa tibi iam fingere possunt/ somnia* (sc. *vates*) and Lucilius 487–88 M: *isti* (sc. “the superstitious”) *somnia ficta/ vera putant*. Lucretius and (probably) Lucilius link the deceptiveness of religion with the fictions of poetry; see O'Hara (1987). So too the *Aeneid* draws a parallel between the power to deceive of both poetry and prophecy (see chap. 5).

⁵⁰ Often all of a prophecy is believed because part of it has been fulfilled. Cf. appendix to chap. 1.

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treatment of Juno's anger the *Aeneid* plays with, but does not endorse, this idea.

The association of prophecy and divination in the *Aeneid* with deceptive encouragement is quite natural, given the function of divination in the real Roman world. In a recent study, J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz argues convincingly that a "principle purpose" of Roman divination "was to preserve morale and to prevent panic among the populace at large in times of stress."⁵¹ Divination provided a mechanism for "the maintenance of public confidence or, negatively, the avoidance of panic. The diviners scanned the state of relations between the gods and Rome and provided reassurance that the 'peace of the gods' was being maintained, or at least restored." In the *Aeneid*, prophecy, divination, and communications from gods often reassure characters in times of stress that the will of the gods is still with them, that divine anger is a problem easily dealt with, and that there is no reason for fear or panic.⁵²

The assurances that Helenus and Tiberinus give to Aeneas that his sacrifices to Juno will be enough to overcome her anger resemble too the recommendations of an important passage of the *Georgics*, wherein Vergil gives voice to the Roman notion that veneration of the gods is a crucial part of life and an effective preventative for disasters:

in primis venerare deos, atque annua magnae
sacra refer Cereri laetis operatus in herbis
extremae sub casum hiemis, iam vere sereno.

(*Geo.* 1.338–40)

(Above all, give honor to the gods, and offer the yearly rites to great Ceres, sacrificing in the luxuriant grass as winter comes to an end and serene spring now begins.)

He then describes the ritual in more detail. The immediately preceding passage of the *Georgics*, however, describes the hor-

⁵¹ Liebeschuetz (1979) 7–29, 56–57 (quotations from 9 and 16).

⁵² On divination and on placating the anger of the gods see Liebeschuetz (previous note), Versnel (1985), Latte (1960) 211–12, and Linderski (1982) 30.

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rible storms which are characteristic of spring and fall, and which often wipe out all of man's efforts, regardless of what he does (311–37). The juxtaposition of these two passages undercuts the simplistic piety of the second one, just as events of the *Aeneid* betray the trust in the gods often recommended within the poem.⁵³

The Temple of Juno

Vergil's attention to the theme of the implacability of Juno adds considerable irony to Aeneas' inclusion of Juno as witness to his oath at 12.176–79: *esto nunc Sol testis . . . / et pater omnipotens et tu Saturnia coniunx/ (iam melior, iam, diva, precor)* ("Let Sun now be witness . . . and the all-powerful father, and you his Saturnian wife—now better disposed, goddess, I pray"). W. R. Johnson explains:

Nothing that he or we have experienced in the poem gives him grounds for believing in the reasonableness . . . of Juno towards him or any human. His final prayer to her is touched . . . with Sophoclean irony, and his dilemma and his action throughout the poem are ironic because he acts and must act as though Juno were benevolent. This tragic aspect of the poem is brilliantly executed.⁵⁴

What makes Aeneas believe that Juno is reasonable and can be placated is what he has been told repeatedly by gods and prophets.

When Aeneas looks at the carvings on Dido's temple to Juno in Book 1, the scene is marked by a similar irony. It is here that Aeneas' spirits first begin to rise:

⁵³ For full analysis of this passage, see Ross (1987) 90, 121–22.

⁵⁴ Johnson (1976) 166n.67, after remarks about Aeneas and Tiberinus. See Johnson (1976) esp. chap. 3, on the role of Juno in the poem. A partial exception to the pattern of prophecies that deceive Aeneas about Juno is the Sibyl's *nec Teucris addita Iuno/ usquam aberit* (6.90–91).

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hoc primum in luco nova res oblata timorem
leniit, hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem
ausus et adflictis melius confidere rebus. (1.450–52)

(In this grove for the first time a surprising find softened his fear; here first Aeneas dared to hope for survival, and to trust his fortunes better, low though they were.)

Aeneas sees what he perceives to be sympathy for his people's troubles, but although on the human level Aeneas will find Dido sympathetic to his suffering, on another level the confidence inspired by what Vergil calls an empty depiction (*pictura . . . inani* 464) is misplaced:

[Aeneas] is standing by the temple of his archenemy, and the meaning of this enmity eludes him here as it constantly eludes him elsewhere in the poem. In a way that also eludes him (and some readers), the frescoes that amaze and hearten him are a kind of victory monument to Juno: they depict cruel, pathetic moments in the ruin of Troy, a ruin in which Juno, of course, takes a savage, ineffable delight.⁵⁵

In the description of the temple murals the theme of Juno's implacability is underscored, and the motif of Aeneas' useless prayers to her is adumbrated, by a subtle device that has escaped notice. R. F. Thomas has shown that Vergil built upon the Hellenistic and Neoteric tradition of the *ecphrasis*, or poetic description of a work of art, innovatively stressing the centerpiece of each description. Vergil does this with the cups in *Eclogue* 3, the *templum* of the proem to *Georgics* 3, the shield of Aeneas in *Aeneid* 8, and elsewhere. The description of the murals on the temple of Juno at Carthage occupies twenty-

⁵⁵ Johnson (1976) 103; cf. his 103–5, Horsfall (1973–74) 7–8, DiCesare (1974) 11–12, and Lyne (1987) 209–10. Aeneas overlooks the enmity of Juno here after his deceptive meeting with Venus (Orontes section; cf. Hornsby [1978] 356). On the murals, cf. also Clay (1988).

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eight lines, and has seven panels.⁵⁶ The fourth and therefore central panel of this ecphrasis, beginning in the fourteenth of its twenty-eight lines,⁵⁷ is the supplication of Athena by the Trojan women:

interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant
 crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant
 suppliciter, tristes et tunsae pectora palmis;
 diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat. (1.479–82)

(Meanwhile Trojan women went with loosened hair to the temple of hostile Athena, and beating their breasts in sorrow, they were bringing the robe as an offering to her. The goddess, turned away, held her eyes fixed to the ground.)

Compared to the important scenes presented at the centers of other ecphrases, these lines seem “at first sight disappointing, and in a way that should arouse our suspicions.”⁵⁸ Thomas explains part of these lines’ significance; he describes the “literary virtuosity” of placing a *peplum*, “which itself would traditionally contain ecphrastic scenes,” at the center of an ecphrasis. Thomas has also shown that in this reference to the *peplum*, Vergil is acknowledging, in his characteristically learned and demanding fashion, the precedent of the neoteric poet Calvus, whose lost epyllion *Io* probably contained an ecphrasis of a *peplum* for Juno, or perhaps one for Athena, as in

⁵⁶ Thomas (1983) 175–84. The cups at *Edl.* 3.36–47 have Conon and (probably) Aratus and then Orpheus in their centers; the *templum* has Augustus: *in medio mihi Caesar erit* (*Geo.* 3.16); and the shield Augustus and Actium: *in medio classis aeratas, Actia bella* (*Aen.* 8.675). Johnson (1976) 108 notes that the Parade of Heroes in the underworld “is shaped so as to frame Augustus precisely in its center.”

⁵⁷ Thomas (1983) 177ff. Clay (1988) 202 and others say that the murals have eight panels; depending on where one divides, the supplication of Athena can be the fourth of seven, the fifth of eight, or the fifth of nine panels.

⁵⁸ Thomas (1983) 181.

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the late pseudo-Vergilian *Ciris*, or both.⁵⁹ Thomas' observations are of great value, but I would argue that the importance of these lines lies in their thematic suggestiveness, and their connection with the surrounding narrative of the poem.⁶⁰ Aeneas is "standing by the temple of his archenemy," and beginning to think that his troubles may be over, and that he may have placated the goddess whom Helenus told him he would overcome with gifts. At the center of the description of the murals Vergil places Trojan women bringing gifts to a goddess, who spurns them: *diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat* (482, "the goddess, turned away, held her eyes fixed to the ground").

That Vergil implies a connection between the attitudes of Juno and Athena seems unmistakable. There may be more to it than this, however. This additional argument is speculative, as it deals with a lost work, and what has been said above does not depend on it. The *peplum* in Calvus' poem would logically be for Io's relentless persecutor Juno, but the presumed imitation or borrowing in the *Ciris* refers to Athena. Lyne has plausibly suggested that "the learned Calvus [took] the opportunity to digress, describing the Juno-robe, to a description of the more famous but analogous offering that was made to Athena."⁶¹ If this is true, then Vergil's allusion to Calvus would be more than just a piece of virtuosity or programmatic compliment or gratuitous learning. Vergil's *peplum* is for Athena, but like Calvus', it is linked to Juno, a relentless foe

⁵⁹ Thomas (1983) 181ff., following the plausible suggestions of Lyne (1978) 109–10. They note that the word *peplum* itself occurs in extant Latin before Vergil only in two unimportant passages in Plautus and, by the arguments of Thomas and Lyne, in Calvus.

⁶⁰ The center of the shield-ecphrasis (*in medio classis aeratas, Actia bella . . .* 8.675) is closely connected with the narrative, as are most of the mural scenes. Cf. R. D. Williams (1960) 149ff.; G. Williams (1983) 68–70 and 93–94; Stanley (1965) 257–77; and Knauer (1964) 327–29, 349–50, and 354. Stanley 275 and Knauer 328–29 and 349 rightly connect 1.479–82 with the vain supplication of Athena by the Latin women at 11.477–85; I suggest a more immediate connection in Book 1, with a broader application throughout the poem.

⁶¹ Lyne (1978) 109–10; cf. Thomas (1983) 184n.27.

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of Aeneas in his poem as she was of Io in the myth Calvus treated.⁶²

Aeneas is deceived both by prophets' lies and by his own misinterpretation of this work of art. I shall suggest in chapter 5 that the *Aeneid* draws an analogy between the tendency for prophecy to mislead or deceive and the ability of art or poetry to deceive.⁶³ This analogy also underlies the treatment of the prophecies of Rome to come in chapter 4, where I shall discuss the parallel between the experience of characters within the poem who receive deceptive prophecies and the experience of the reader struggling with the conflict between the brighter and darker aspects of the *Aeneid*.

At the end of Book 3, Aeneas' complaint that neither Helenus nor Celaeno warned him about Anchises' death is more than simply Vergil's way of demonstrating Aeneas' affection for his father. Through it Vergil brings the death of Anchises into two related patterns that shape many of the prophecies given to Aeneas: that of the omission of one death from an optimistic prophecy, and that of the deception of Aeneas by gods and prophets, concerning both the role of Juno in his misfortunes and his ability to assuage her anger through religious rites.

PALLAS

At 9.77–122, when Turnus threatens to burn Aeneas' ships, the Great Mother Cybele changes them into nymphs. In Book 10, as Aeneas is traveling down the Tiber from Pallanteum to Latium with Pallas and the armies of Evander and the Etruscans, these nymphs swim up to him, and one of them, *fandi*

⁶² For further connections between Io and the victims of Juno in the *Aeneid*, see chap. 2, Cybele section.

⁶³ Cf. Johnson (1976) 99–114 on how art in the *Aeneid* has the capacity to comfort, but also the potential to delude and betray. He argues against the view of Parry (1966) 107–23, that Vergil is suggesting that in art (e.g., the murals) one can find a kind of "salvation" or "redemption" (see Parry 122–23).

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doctissima Cymodocea (10.225, “Cymodocea, the best at speaking”), speaks to him. She identifies the nymphs, tells Aeneas of Ascanius’ dire situation in the Trojan camp and of Turnus’ plans, and urges him to prepare for battle, predicting great success. Cymodocea’s prophecy of success to Aeneas is another that has been unfairly called “trivial,” that allegedly has no function except to tell Aeneas “only what he would have learned a very little later from his own observation.”⁶⁴ But this short prophecy of Cymodocea plays an important part in Vergil’s story of Pallas and Aeneas, as the last in a series of encouraging prophecies that bring Pallas and Aeneas to the battlefield where Pallas will die.

Many features of this episode formally mark it as a prophecy scene, and link it with other descriptions of divine admonitions or predictions. The typical description of the discouraged state of mind of the recipient tells us that Aeneas is worried before the nymphs’ approach (10.217 *cura*; cf. also 159 *secum*).⁶⁵ Cymodocea is introduced as *fandi doctissima* (225), not just because “she is a better talker than the rest”; if it had no other meaning, the phrase would indeed be “very weak.”⁶⁶ Here as elsewhere Vergil is playing with the etymological connection of the verb *fari* with the noun *fata*, “fate” (as in, for example, Jupiter’s words at 1.261–62: *fabor enim . . . / longius, et volvens fatorum arcana movebo*, “I shall speak at greater length, and shall unroll and express the secrets of the fates”).⁶⁷ Vergil virtually translates the phrase πολυφράδμων ὑποφήτης (“very wise [or very eloquent] spokesman”), used by Apollonius of Rhodes in the *Argonautica* to describe Glaucus, who swims up to the Argo, grabs the ship’s keel (as Cymodocea

⁶⁴ For “trivial,” see Mack (1978) 77, for the second quotation, Conington (1963) vol. 3, 225; similarly Kühn (1971) 142.

⁶⁵ Cf. appendix to chap. 1.

⁶⁶ For “better talker,” see Quinn (1968) 218; for “very weak,” see Conington (1963) *ad loc.*

⁶⁷ Commager (1981) 101–14 discusses plays upon *fatum* and *fari* in the *Aeneid* without mentioning 10.225. The connection between the words was well known; cf. Varro *De Ling. Lat.* 6.52, Bartelink (1965) 95–96, and Commager (1981) 101.

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grabs Aeneas' ship), and prophecies to the Argonauts.⁶⁸ Cymodocea is "best at speaking prophetically." She begins with vocabulary that suggests a Roman religious ritual (as we can gather from Servius), and may give the whole passage the air of ritual preparation for war: *vigilasne, deum gens, / Aenea? vigila* (10.228–29, "are you awake, Aeneas, stock of the gods? Be awake").⁶⁹ She tells Aeneas about the situation back at the camp (236–40), showing supernatural knowledge of Turnus' plans in 240: *ne castris iungant, certa est sententia Turno* ("Turnus' steadfast plan is to keep them from joining in one camp"). Then she makes an injunction and a prophecy:

surge age et Aurora socios veniente vocari
 primus in arma iube, et clipeum cape quem dedit ipse
 invictum ignipotens atque oras ambiit auro.
 crastina lux, mea si non inrita dicta putaris,
 ingentis Rutulae spectabit caedis acervos. (241–45)

(Come, rise up, and at dawn first order your companions to be called to arms, and take the invincible shield that the god of fire himself rimmed with gold and gave to you. Tomorrow's light, if you've not thought my words in vain, will see huge heaps of Rutulian slaughter.)

The command *surge age* is found in other prophetic injunctions,⁷⁰ and the reference to the shield as *invictum* is almost a

⁶⁸ Apoll. Rhod. 1.1310–11; cf. Henry (1873–92) vol. 4, 34–35.

⁶⁹ Serv. *ad loc.*: *VIGILASNE DEUM GENS AENEA VIGILA verba sunt sacrorum; nam virgines Vestae certa die ibant ad regem sacrorum et dicebant 'vigilasne rex? vigila.'* cf. also Serv. *ad* 2.148, and for the association with war, Serv. *ad* 8.3: *is qui belli suscepit curam, sacrarium Martis ingressus primo ancilia commovebat, post hastam simulacri ipsius, dicens 'Mars vigila.'* Little is known of these rites; cf. RE 8 A.2 s.v. "Vesta" col. 1735 (Koch), and Grassmann-Fischer (1966) 35n. 54, with references. Note also 10.224 *regem lustrantque choreis*; Serv. *Auct. ad loc.* glosses *lustrant* with *circumdant et circumeunt*, but the word retains its sacral connotations.

⁷⁰ Cf. *surge age* at 3.169 (Penates to Aeneas), 8.59 (Tiberinus to Aeneas), and 10.241 (Cymodocea to Aeneas); cf. also *quare age* (7.429, Allecto/Calybe

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prophecy of military success. The prediction at 244–45 is more explicit, promising “huge heaps of Rutulian slaughter.” Here again we find the *si non vana* motif: *mea si non inrita dicta putaris* (244, “if you’ve not thought my words in vain”).⁷¹ The careful artistry of 245, *ingentis Rutulae spectabit caedis acervos*, is noteworthy. It is what Dryden called a Golden Line, with “two substantives and two adjectives with a verb betwixt to keep the peace.”⁷² It also has the coincidence of word accent and rhythmical ictus in the last three feet that Vergil often uses for sonorously rounding off a paragraph.⁷³ Vergil achieves this coincidence here with a word of three long syllables, *spectabit*, after the main caesura, a stylistic feature common in Catullus 64, but used more sparingly by Vergil.⁷⁴ Line 245 is a striking and memorable verse.

As elsewhere the prediction is sealed by a sign, by a miracle which confirms its divine origins:⁷⁵

dixerat et dextra discedens impulit altam
 haud ignara modi puppim: fugit illa per undas
 ocior et iaculo et ventos aequante sagitta. (246–48)

(She had spoken, and as she left she skillfully drove the tall ship with her right hand; it fled through the waves more swiftly than a javelin or an arrow that matches the winds.)

to Turnus), *vade age* (3.462, Helenus to Aeneas, and 4.223, Mercury’s first appearance) and *heia age* (4.569, Mercury’s dream appearance).

⁷¹ Kühn (1971) 141n.3 rightly compares 7.273 and 10.630. The literal meaning of the *si*-clause here is different from that of most other examples, but here as elsewhere, the motif introduces a note of doubt.

⁷² Cf. Wilkinson (1963) 215–16, citing Dryden’s *Preface to Sylvae*, and Lyne (1978) 24.

⁷³ Cf. R. D. Williams (1960a) *ad* 5.5f., with references.

⁷⁴ See Wilkinson (1963) 129 and Lyne (1978) 21–23.

⁷⁵ For other prophecies or signs confirmed by signs or miracles, see appendix to chap. 1.

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The prophecy and sign encourage Aeneas, even though he does not fully understand: *stupet inscius ipse/ Tros Anchisiades, animos tamen omine tollit* (249–50, “The Trojan son of Anchises himself gapes in ignorance, but still lifts his spirits at the omen”). Aeneas prays to Cybele for the omen to come true: *tu rite propinques/ augurium Phrygibusque adsis pede, diva, secundo* (254–55, “bring near the proper fulfillment of the omen, goddess, and by your presence bring favor to the Phrygians”).⁷⁶

The prophecy is indeed fulfilled, in bitterly ironic fashion, for this day will see the *aristeia* and death of Pallas. Aeneas arrives at the battle site confidently holding aloft Vulcan’s shield (261–62), apparently in response to Cymodocea’s words about it (242–43).⁷⁷ The battle begins, with both Aeneas and Turnus fighting successfully against lesser men. Elsewhere Aeneas’ Arcadian allies falter (362ff.) until they are roused by Pallas, who moves through the Rutulians, killing one after another (380–425). Finally Pallas meets Turnus, who cuts him down. Vergil steps in as narrator here and eulogizes Pallas; though he has killed but a few men, Vergil speaks of “heaps of Rutulians:”

o dolor atque decus magnum rediture parenti,
haec te prima dies bello dedit, haec eadem aufert,
cum tamen ingentis Rutulorum linquis acervos!
(507–9)

(Oh, you will be such a great source of grief and glory to your father, for this your first day of warfare has carried you off, yet still you leave huge heaps of Rutulians.)

Line 509 repeats three words from the prophecy of 260 lines earlier (cf. 245 *ingentis Rutulae spectabit caedis acervos*, “will see

⁷⁶ Conington (1963) *ad loc.* cites 8.78: *adsis o tantum et propius tua numina firmes* (Aeneas to Tiberinus). For prayers after prophecies or omens, cf. also the appendix to this chapter.

⁷⁷ See Henry (1873–92) vol. 4, 35.

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huge heaps of Rutulian slaughter"). The prophecy had come true, but only at the cost of the life of young Pallas.⁷⁸

Cymodocea, Croesus, Catullus

Cymodocea's deceptive prophecy and its fulfillment bear an obvious superficial resemblance to the famous prophecy, reported by Herodotus and others, that Croesus of Lydia is said to have received from the Delphic Oracle. Croesus had asked whether he should make war on the Persians. The oracle replied, "If Croesus crosses the Halys River he will ruin a mighty kingdom."⁷⁹ Croesus crossed the river, and the reign he destroyed was his own. Vergil may not have been directly influenced by Herodotus, though that seems possible, given the notoriety of the prophecy,⁸⁰ but the differences in the two stories are instructive. Herodotus stresses Croesus' wealth and *hybris*, and by the conventions of Herodotean or tragic narrative Croesus seems to deserve the treatment he receives.⁸¹ Herodotus' Pythia even rebukes him for not asking a second question to clarify the ambiguous first response. By contrast, Vergil's story has nothing to suggest that the deception of Aeneas by Cymodocea was in any way deserved or just. This kind of prophetic deception, while obviously at home in many myths, seems oddly disturbing and incongruous in an apparently optimistic poem about the founding of a great state watched over and always favored by the gods.

Closer to Vergil's time is another story that may indeed have directly influenced him. Vergil's bitterly truthful prophecy about Pallas' death may be a reworking of part of the prophecy of the Parcae about Achilles in Catullus 64. In their

⁷⁸ The resemblance between 10.509 and 245 is noted with no comment by Conington (1963) *ad* 509 and Moskalew (1982), "Appendix: list of repetitions," and by Quinn (1968) 223, who calls 509 "an ironic echo" of 245.

⁷⁹ Extensive references at Fontenrose (1978) 113 and 302.

⁸⁰ See previous note. Ennius adapted the oracle to Pyrrhus of Epirus (*Ann.* 167S = 179V); Cicero discussed the Ennian passage at *De Div.* 2.56.116.

⁸¹ See e.g., Fontenrose (1978) 111–12.

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predictions at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis of the future glory of the pair's only son Achilles, the Parcae say:

testis erit magnis virtutibus unda Scamandri,
quae passim rapido diffunditur Hellesponto,
cuius iter caesis angustans corporum acervis
alta tepefaciet permixta flumina caede. (357–60)

(The waves of Scamander will be a witness to his great manly deeds, the Scamander which is poured indiscriminately into the rushing Hellespont, whose journey he'll narrow with slaughtered heaps of corpses, and whose deep waters he'll warm with mixed-in slaughter.)

The slight verbal reminiscence is reinforced by the contexts, and the pathos and shifting ironies of the Parcae's prediction in Catullus are like those of Vergil's Cymodocea passage. The pain of the premature death of an only son is an important part both of the earlier Theseus/Aegeus panel of Catullus 64,⁸² and of this Peleus and Thetis section: their happy marriage will be marred by the sorrow of their only child's early death. That son's life will be glorious, but that the glory will be dearly bought is stressed here as in Vergil by verbal echoes. Achilles will pile up heaps of corpses (*caesis . . . corporum acervis* 359), but soon his own burial mound will be heaped up (*coacervatum aggere bustum* 363).⁸³ Pallas, like Achilles, will die after heroically piling up *acervos* of slaughtered bodies, but Vergil's Cymodocea refers to this much more obliquely and deceptively than do Catullus' Parcae.

In adapting Catullus here, Vergil may even expect a learned recognition of Catullus' own choice or adaptation of sources.

⁸² Thomas (1982) 107n.41 says that "in Roman poetry the premature death of a sole child is attended by an unequalled sense of pathos and loss," and suggests that Aegeus' farewell to Theseus at Cat. 64.215–37 "may well have been in Virgil's mind at *Aen.* 8.574–84," Evander's farewell to Pallas.

⁸³ So Putnam (1961) 193–94, who accurately describes the pathos of the lines.

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The song at Catullus' wedding of Peleus and Thetis is a prophecy of the Parcae; in earlier versions it was a song of the Muses, as in Pindar, *Nemean* 5, or of Apollo. In a fragment of Aeschylus, Thetis complains that in his song Apollo had prophesied a happy motherhood for her, when in reality he was to be the killer of her son; she laments, καὶ γὰρ τὸ Φοῖβου θεῖον ἀψευδὲς στόμα/ ἤλπίζον εἶναι ("And I thought that the divine mouth of Phoebus would not lie").⁸⁴ Homer alludes to the same tradition when in *Iliad* 24 Hera says that all the gods were present at Thetis' wedding, including Apollo, to whom she says ἐν δὲ σὺ τοῖσι/ δαῖνυ' ἔχων φόρμιγγα, κακῶν ἕταρ', αἰὲν ἄπιστε (62–63, "And you with your lyre dined among them, friend of evils, always faithless").⁸⁵ Catullus tells a different story. He has Apollo stay away from the wedding (299–302), but in characteristic Alexandrian fashion⁸⁶ alludes to the other version of the story, by saying that no one could accuse the Parcae's song of perfidy: *talia divino fuderunt carmine fata,/ carmine, perfidiae quod post nulla arguet aetas* (321–22, "Such fates they poured out in heavenly song, song that no later age will charge with treachery"). The point is also stressed in 306 *veridicos . . . cantus* ("truth-speaking songs"), and in 326 *veridicum oraculum* ("truth-speaking oracle"); both contrast with Hera's charge of faithlessness in Homer and Thetis' regret that she believed Apollo to be truthful in Aeschylus. The Parcae's song, oddly, contains both the claim that Thetis will be happy (334–36, 372–74), as in Aeschylus, and the description of Achilles' early death. Vergil's Pallas story recasts some of the themes of Catullus 64, but in structure Vergil's tale of an optimistic prophecy that omits a death resembles more the earlier version, and Cymodocea's "perfidy" is somewhat like Apollo's.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Fr. 284 Mette = 350 Nauck or Radt, from Plato *Rep.* 383a–b.

⁸⁵ *Il.* 24.55–63; cf. Scodel (1977) 55–57.

⁸⁶ Cf. Ross (1975) 62, Lyne (1978) 125, Wilamowitz (1924) 302.

⁸⁷ On Catullus here, see Curran (1969) 169–92, Konstan (1977) 82 and n.183, and Townend (1983) 21–30, with further references. On Vergil's use of Catullus generally, see Petrini (1987).

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The wording of *Aen.* 10.507–9 is a pointed reminder that Pallas' death fulfills the letter but contradicts the spirit of Cymodocea's words to Aeneas predicting a successful battle. These lines immediately precede Aeneas' wild rampage of furious killing at 10.513–605. Little need be said here about the importance of Pallas' death to the second half of the poem. In Book 11 Aeneas' speech over the body of Pallas stresses disappointed hopes and expectations. He begins:

‘tene,’ inquit, ‘miserande puer, cum laeta veniret,
invidit Fortuna mihi, ne regna videres
nostra neque ad sedes victor veherere paternas?’
(11.42–44)

(“Pitiable boy,” he said, “as Fortune smiled on me did she envy me this, that you might see my reign, and be carried in victory to your father’s house?”)

Aeneas starts with a recognition of the mixture of the bitter and the sweet in his fate—of how his future success is scarred by the death of the *miserandus puer*.⁸⁸ At 45–46, *non haec Evandro de te promissa parenti/ discedens dederam* (“This is not what I promised your father Evander about you as I left”), and 54–55, *hi nostri reditus exspectatique triumphi?/ haec mea magna fides?* (“Is this my return and expected triumph? Is this how I keep promises?”), Aeneas accuses himself of betraying Evander’s expectations, even though he gave little encouragement to Evander. The charge would be more reasonably brought against the expectations that Cymodocea and others roused in Aeneas, and against the *fides* of the gods. Aeneas used similar terms earlier in complaining that Palinurus’ death seemed to make Apollo a liar: *en haec promissa fides est?* (6.346, “Is this

⁸⁸ Cf. of course Marcellus, the *miserandus puer* (6.882) whose death mars Anchises’ optimistic prophecy in the underworld (chap. 4). Marcellus, like Pallas, is linked to the Achilles of Cat. 64: cf. *non illi se quisquam impune tulisset/ obviis armato* (6.879–80) with *non illi quisquam bello se conferet heros* (Cat. 64.343).

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how he keeps promises?”).⁸⁹ Now Aeneas implicitly indicts the gods’ *fides* when speaking of Evander’s vows, gifts, and vain hopes:

et nunc ille quidem spe multum captus inani
fors et vota facit cumulatque altaria donis,
nos iuvenem exanimum et nil iam caelestibus ullis
debentem vano maesti comitamur honore.

(11.49–52)

(But even now, so greatly deceived by empty hope, he may be making vows and piling gifts on altars, while we in grief accompany his lifeless son in useless tribute, his son who now owes nothing to the gods.)

In thinking of the *fides* of the gods we should recall that Evander, Aeneas, and Pallas are brought together by a chain of prophecies and omens from Apollo, Evander’s mother Carmenta, Venus, Tiberinus, Etruscan soothsayers, Anchises, and the Sibyl. Several of these should be reexamined in the light of Pallas’ death.

Evander’s prophetic mother Carmenta, together with Apollo, brought Evander to Italy under divine guidance much like Aeneas’ (8.335–36). She also predicted that Aeneas would bring glory to Pallanteum: *cecinit quae prima futuros/ Aeneadas magnos et nobile Pallanteum* (8.340–41, “who first predicted in song that the sons of Aeneas would be great, and that Pallanteum would be famous”). After what happens to Pallas, it becomes apparent that Carmenta’s prophecy, like Cymodocea’s, was precisely true, but carefully worded so as to omit mention of Pallas. Aeneas’ race (*Aeneadae*), but only Evander’s city (*Pallanteum*, which is named for his ancestor but reminds us of the younger Pallas), are destined for greatness; the line of Evander is to be wiped out. Vergil has prepared us for the evocation of Pallas in Carmenta’s words about Pallanteum by

⁸⁹ See Palinurus section.

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his idiosyncratic etymologizing at 8.54: *Pallantis proavi de nomine Pallanteum* ("Pallanteum, after the name of his ancestor Pallas"). He virtually calls the settlement Pallas-town.⁹⁰

When in 8.520–29 Evander adds Pallas to Aeneas' army, his speech ends with Pallas' name. The sky is soon filled with portentous thunder, lightning, trumpets, and clashing of arms. Most are frightened (*obstipuerunt animis alii* 530, "the minds of the others were stunned"), thinking these to be bad omens. Citing private assurances from Venus, Aeneas explains that they are not unfavorable omens:

ne vero, hospes, ne quaere profecto
quem casum portenta ferant: ego poscor Olympo.
hoc signum cecinit missuram diva creatrix,
si bellum ingrueret, Volcaniaque arma per auras
laturam auxilio. (8.532–36)

(My host, do not ask what fortune the omens portend: I am called by Olympus. My goddess mother said in song she'd send this sign if war approached, and would bring through the air weapons from Vulcan to help me.)

These words and those of the following lines are all the encouragement that Aeneas gives to Evander about Pallas. His interpretation of the omens is only partially correct: these omens portend both victory for Aeneas, and death both for his enemies and for Pallas. The thunder and lightning can be seen as an *augurium*, an assurance that the gods favor Aeneas' course of action. But the thunder and lightning and especially the clashing of weapons in the sky, which resembles omens associated with the civil wars after the death of Caesar, can

⁹⁰ The spondaic line-end *Pallanteum* in both 54 and 341 facilitates recollection. For the many other suggested etymologies, see Varro *De Ling. Lat.* 5.53, Fordyce (1977) *ad* 8.51ff., and Tib. 2.5.25–30 with the comments of Ross (1975) 155–57. Horsfall (1981) 142 remarks on the idiosyncrasy of Vergil. I do not know of any other suggestion as to Vergil's poetic motivation for the etymology at 8.54.

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also be seen as a portent (a *prodigium*) foreshadowing a disastrous civil war, and the horrors that the war will bring, including the death of Pallas.⁹¹ The empty reassurances given by Aeneas to Evander are both paralleled by, and caused by, the encouragement of Aeneas by the gods. The words that Aeneas attributes to Venus are like the optimistic prophecy that omits mention of a death. Or it may be that Aeneas again “feigns hope on his face, suppressing the pain deep in his heart,” as he did when addressing his men after the storm in Book 1. Before the omens, Vergil describes the somber reaction of Aeneas and Achates to Evander’s speech offering Pallas as an apprentice to Aeneas:

Vix ea fatus erat, defixique ora tenebant
Aeneas Anchisiades et fidus Achates
multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant,
ni signum caelo Cytherea dedisset aperto.

(8.520–23)

(He had just spoken, and Aeneas the son of Anchises and loyal Achates held their gazes fixed, and would for a long time have pondered grim thoughts in sad hearts, had Venus not given a sign in the clear heavens.)

The phrase *dura suo tristi cum corde putabant* may be compared with 1.209, *premit altum corde dolorem* (“he suppresses the pain deep in his heart”). But Vergil is more reticent here about what Aeneas’ true feelings are; to speak of Aeneas “concealing his truer perceptions” about Pallas⁹² is to make clear what Ver-

⁹¹ See Grassmann-Fischer (1966) 29–38, with the important review of Wlosok (1973a) 247–48. On this rich scene, see also Pöschl (1977) 72–81 (not in Pöschl [1962]); Barchiesi (1984) 74–90; Merkelbach (1961) 96n.60; Putnam (1965) 143–45 and (1987) 187n.20; and Wiesen (1973) 758, who notes that “Aeneas’ ambiguous word *casum* [8.533] is taken up by Evander, line 578, when he is pondering Pallas’ future.”

⁹² Wiesen (1973) 749–50. But cf. Aeneas’ *ne quaere* . . . (8.532) with the words that Anchises in the underworld uses to answer Aeneas’ question about

gil has made puzzling. What Vergil does show clearly is an encouraging interpretation of an omen that is more complex and ambiguous than the characters know or admit.

(The next chapter will compare Aeneas' reaction to these omens with Turnus' response to Cybele's omens in Book 9.)

Etruscan prophecies make Aeneas seem to Evander a savior sent by the gods to his people and the Etruscans, for an Etruscan *haruspex* has said that none but a foreigner may lead their army against Mezentius (8.497–513, cf. 10.154–56, 12.232). Aeneas will kill Mezentius, but Aeneas' war will take the life of the prince of Pallanteum and wipe out Evander's line.⁹³

Aeneas' speech over the body of Pallas at 11.42–58 reminds us also of prophecies given to him. He speaks of Evander's admonition, *acris esse viros, cum dura proelia gente* (48, "that the men were fierce, and that the battle would be with a rugged people"). In one of the more realistic prophecies of the poem, Anchises had warned Aeneas, *gens dura atque aspera cultu/ debellanda tibi Latio est* (5.730–31, "in Latium you must battle down a people rugged and used to hardship"). But Anchises did not foretell sorrow such as this—*nec . . . hos mihi praedixit luctus*, Aeneas might have said, as he had once complained about Helenus and Celaeno (3.712–13).

T. E. Kinsey has also found a reference to Pallas in the Sibyl's prophecy at 6.83ff. She warns Aeneas, *alius Latio iam par-tus Achilles, natus et ipse dea* (6.89–90, "another Achilles is born to Latium, he too the son of a goddess"). These words could prophesy not only that Aeneas will fight against an Achilles figure, Turnus, but also that Aeneas himself will play the role of Achilles in losing his Patroclus, Pallas, and then killing that man's killer at the end of the poem.⁹⁴

the young Marcellus: *o gnate, ingentem luctum ne quaere tuorum* (6.868, chap. 4, Anchises and Aeneas section).

⁹³ Wiesen (1973) 758 says that the pronouncements of the *haruspex* are "another sign that destiny is working to break up the isolation of the Italian communities."

⁹⁴ Kinsey (1979) 267. For this second meaning, *Latio* would be a dative,

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In a sense, all these prophecies combine to give victory to Aeneas, for they give him some warning of danger, provide him with allies, and inspire him with the confidence necessary for perseverance and success. But they also bring disaster to Aeneas and to the Arcadians in that they help to provide the situation in which Pallas can and will die. Vergil twice speaks of Pallas' death as being fated (10.437–39 and 467–72), and in a way all the prophecies have been working toward bringing this about: Carmenta and Apollo bring Evander to Italy; the Etruscan host waits for a foreign leader; the Sibyl and later Tiberinus send Aeneas to Pallanteum; and when the heavenly portents frighten Evander as he gives Pallas to Aeneas, Aeneas has been provided with an optimistic interpretation of them. Finally Aeneas receives the prophecy and exhortation of Cymodocaea. This prophecy indeed tells him “only what he would have learned a very little later from his own observation.”⁹⁵ But it also fills him with confidence (*animos tamen omine tollit* 10.250, “but still he lifts his spirits at the omen”) and an optimism that makes the pain of Pallas' death more bitter.

Any reader of the *Aeneid* can see that much of Aeneas' suffering comes from having to endure the deaths of so many of those he loves. Close attention to the text shows that the deaths of Orontes, Palinurus, Anchises, and Pallas contradict the letter or the spirit of the encouraging prophecies Aeneas has received. The prophecies do not tell Aeneas what is going to happen; instead, just as Aeneas speaks hollowly encouraging words to his men on the shores of Carthage after the storm (*spem vultu simulat*), so too the prophecies rhetorically tell Aeneas what he wants or needs to hear in order to be confident

“born for Latium.” The phrase, *natus et ipse dea*, as it applies to Turnus, means, “born from a goddess, as you, Aeneas, and Achilles are.” As it applies to Aeneas, who is often called *nate dea*, it means, “you who are born from a goddess, just as Achilles was.” Clay (1988) 205 applies the Sibyl's words to Aeneas.

⁹⁵ See n.64.

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enough to continue on his mission. The signs and prophecies that men think are guiding them on the path that is best for them are actually pushing men and events in the direction that fate requires, bringing not only success and victory but also sorrow and death.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Cf. the analysis of the death of Laocoon by Kleinknecht (1963) 426–88, esp. 448, and the comments linking Books 2 and 8 by Wiesen (1973) 749–50.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER ONE
TYPICAL FEATURES OF
PROPHECY SCENES

I described above the recurrent features of prophecy scenes in the *Aeneid*. Here I list the occurrences of these features in the poem (and of the *si non vana* motif in all of Augustan poetry).

(1) Description of the setting and mood of the recipient, who is usually discouraged before the prophecy:

- 1.208–9, 372–85 Aeneas before Venus' augury
- 1.228ff. Venus before Jupiter's prophecy
- 2.67–68 Dido while sacrificing
- 2.775 Aeneas before Creusa's prophecy
- 3.153 Aeneas before the Penates appear
- 3.365–68 Aeneas before Helenus' prophecy
- 6.103–5 Aeneas' reaction to the Sibyl's prophecy
shows that he was confident and could
be given a more realistic prophecy⁹⁷
- 6.719–21, 806–7 Aeneas before Anchises' prophecy
- 7.81 Latinus consulting the oracle of Faunus
- 7.413–14 Turnus before Allecto's visit
- 8.18–35 Aeneas before the dream of Tiberinus
- 8.520–22 Aeneas et al. before Venus' omens in the
sky
- 9.3–4, 12 Turnus before Iris comes—only hints at
mood
- 10.217 Aeneas before Cymodocea's prophecy
- 12.238–43 The Latins before the bird omen
- 12.806 Juno before Jupiter's final prophecy

(2) Claim of divine authority:⁹⁸

⁹⁷ See Mack (1978) 56.

⁹⁸ See also typical feature #5 on the epiphany of Venus in Book 1 and the metamorphosis of Allecto in Book 7.

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3.154-55	Penates
3.250-52	Celaeno
3.375, 434	Helenus
5.726	Anchorises
7.428, 432	Allecto
10.234	Cymodocea

(3) Qualification of the prophecy through the "si non vana motif":

1.392	<i>ni frustra augurium vani docuere parentes.</i>
3.433-34	<i>praeterea, si qua est Heleno prudentia vati,/ si qua fides, animum si veris implet Apollo.</i>
	. . .
7.272-73	<i>hunc illum poscere fata/ et reor et, si quid veri mens augurat, opto.</i>
8.42	<i>iamque tibi, ne vana putes haec fingere som- num. . . .</i>
10.244-45	<i>crastina lux, mea si non inrita dicta putaris,/ ingentis Rutulæ spectabit caedis acervos.</i>
10.630-31	<i>nunc manet insontem gravis exitus, aut ego veri/ vana feror.</i>

The *si non vana* motif in the other Augustan poets (and Lucan):

Hor. *Carm.* 3.17.9-13 *cras . . . tempestas, . . . aquae nisi fallit augur annosa cornix.*

— *Epist.* 1.20.9-10 *quodsi non odio peccantis desipit augur,/ carus eris Romae.*

Prop. 3.6.31 *si non vana canunt mea somnia.*⁹⁹

— 4.1.75-76 *certa feram certis auctoribus, aut ego vates/ nescius. . . .*

[Tib.] 3.4.77 *quod si vera canunt sacris oracula templis*

⁹⁹ See the brief comments on this poem by Warden (1980) 22, 99-100, 132n.1; there is a basic similarity between the delusions of a lover and belief in optimistic prophecies (see my chap. 5).

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- [Ovid] *Am.* 3.5.31–32 *dic age, nocturnae, quicumque es, imaginis augur, / si quid habent veri, visa quod ista ferant.*
- Ovid *Rem. Amor.* 489–90 *quod si quid praecepta valent mea, si quid Apollo / utile mortales perdocet ore meo. . . .*
- 767–68 *quod nisi dux operis vatem frustratur Apollo.*
- · ·
- *Met.* 13.733–34 *virginis ora gerens et, si non omnia vates / ficta reliquerent, aliquo quoque tempore virgo.*¹⁰⁰
- 14.759–60 *neve ea ficta putes. . . .*
- 15.282–84 *postquam (nisi vatibus omnis / eripienda fides) illic lavere bimembres / vulnera.*
- 15.439–40 *nate dea, si nota satis praesagia nostrae / mentis habes, non tota cadet te sospite Troia.*
- 15.878–79 (the final lines) *perque omnia saecula fama, / si quid habent veri vatum praesagia, vivam.*
- *Tristia* 4.10.129 *si quid habent igitur vatum praesagia veri. . . .*
- Lucan 7.192–93 *Eugeneo, si vera fides memorantibus, augur / colle sedens. . . .*

(4) The encouraging prophecy, generally a call from inaction to action, often with the omission of or hidden reference to the death of one individual or other discouraging material. (All of these are not explicitly prophecies; nor are all clearly deceptive.)

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|-----------|--|
| 1.257–96 | Jupiter's prophecy to Venus |
| 1.387–401 | Venus' interpretation of the bird omen |
| 2.775–89 | The <i>imago</i> of Creusa predicts <i>res laetae</i> for Aeneas |
| 3.374–462 | Helenus' prophecy with no mention of Anchises, telling Aeneas to sacrifice to Juno |

¹⁰⁰ The word *vates* here means "poets," as Ovid uses the motif to play with the idea of poetic truth, which for Augustan *vates* is not unrelated to prophetic truth (see chap. 5); on the irony of this passage and some of the others from Ovid, see Galinsky (1975) 173–79.

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|-----------|--|
| 5.724-39 | Anchises' words to Aeneas that a harsh people must be fought in Italy |
| 5.813-15 | Neptune tells Venus that "only one will be lost in the waves" |
| 6.83-97 | The Sibyl's prediction of an <i>alius Achilles</i> |
| 6.341-46 | The prophecy of Apollo about Palinurus |
| 6.752-853 | Anchises describes future Romans, including the son Aeneas will have in old age |
| 7.96-101 | Faunus' prediction to Latinus that the Trojans will raise the Latin name to the stars by means of <i>sanguis</i> |
| 7.421-34 | Allecto's visit to Turnus |
| 8.36-65 | Tiberinus tells Aeneas that all the anger of the gods has yielded, and that he should sacrifice to Juno |
| 8.340-41 | Carmenta's prophecy to Evander that the Aeneadae would be <i>magni</i> and <i>Pallanteum nobile</i> |
| 8.532-36 | Aeneas' report that the omens of <i>Pallanteum</i> do not portend disaster, but divine help |
| 8.626-728 | The shield |
| 9.6-13 | Iris' visit to Turnus |
| 9.641-44 | Apollo's blessing of Ascanius and prediction of future peace |
| 10.6-15 | Jupiter's reference to the Punic Wars |
| 10.241-45 | Cymodocea's prophecy about heaps of Rutulian corpses |
| 10.739-41 | Orodes' prophecy to Mezentius |
| 12.259-65 | Tolumnius' interpretation of the bird omen |
| 12.830-40 | Jupiter's reply to Juno |

(5) Request for, promise of, or receiving of confirmation of the prophecy, often by (A) a miraculous sign or (B) partial fulfillment:

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(A)

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 1.402–5 | The epiphany of Venus lends credence to her augury |
| 2.692–98 | The comet ratifies Anchises' interpretation of Ascanius' flaming head |
| 7.141–43 | The thunder confirms Aeneas' interpretation of the tables omen |
| 7.445–55 | The metamorphosis of Allecto proves to Turnus that she is a divine messenger |
| 8.81–83 | The sow seems to prove Tiberinus' dependability |
| 9.14–15 | The rainbow confirms Iris' words to Turnus |
| 10.246–49 | Cymodocea's miraculous acceleration of Aeneas' ship |

(B)

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 1.582–85 | Achates and Aeneas trust Venus because most of her augury seems to have been reliable |
| 3.558–60 | Anchises acknowledges that Helenus correctly described Scylla and Charybdis ¹⁰¹ |
| 6.187–89 | Aeneas, after finding Misenus, dead as the Sibyl had said, believes that she has spoken truthfully also about the bough,
<i>quando omnia vere/ heu nimium de te vates,
Misene, locuta est</i> ¹⁰² |
| 8.81–83 | The sow that Tiberinus promised at 42–45 |

¹⁰¹ Lloyd (1957) 139n.27.

¹⁰² Henry (1873–92) vol. 3, 256 says, perhaps a little unfairly, that the Sibyl here uses “the common trick of fortune-tellers in our own days, viz., to make themselves acquainted with some particular circumstance . . . of the inquirer, in order that the (wise!) inquirer may conclude from their real knowledge of this circumstance that their pretended knowledge of his future circumstances is real also.” Cf. Tib. Claudius Donatus *ad Aen.* 8.13–14 (the report to Diomedes that Aeneas is gathering many allies): *haec non fuerant facta, sed idcirco veris admixta sunt, ut pro certis acciperentur.*

PROPHECY AND DEATH

(6) Prayer by the recipient, perhaps also sacrifice (indication of his acceptance of the prophecy or omen and his willingness to follow the divine command):

2.687-91	Anchises after the comet
3.265-66	Anchises asks that Celaeno's prophecy be averted
3.543-47	Anchises after the horses omen
5.743-75	Aeneas after the apparition of Anchises
7.133-40	Aeneas et al. after the tables omen
7.471	Turnus, several lines after Allecto's visit— a weak example
8.68-78	Aeneas after Tiberinus' visit
9.16-24	Turnus after Iris' visit
10.251-55	Aeneas, after Cymodocea's speech
12.259-65	Tolumnius after Juturna's omen

(7) Description of the resulting mood of the recipient:

1.407-9, 450-52	Aeneas after talking to Venus
2.699-704	Anchises after the comet
3.99-101	The Trojans after Delian Apollo's prophecy
3.178	Aeneas after the Penates' explanation of Apollo's prophecy
3.259-66	The Trojans after Celaeno's prophecy
4.474-77	Dido after the bad omens
5.816	Venus after Neptune's promise that "only one will be lost"
6.103-5	Aeneas after the Sibyl's prophecy
6.889	Anchises "firing" Aeneas' heart; little is actually said of Aeneas' response
7.458-71	Turnus after Allecto's visit
8.530-45	Aeneas after Venus' omens
8.729-31	Aeneas looking at the shield
9.18-24	Turnus after Iris' visit

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- 9.126–58 Turnus after Cybele's omens
10.249–55 Aeneas after Cymodocea's speech
12.257–65 Tolumnius and the Rutulians after Juturna's omen
12.841 Juno after Jupiter's final prophecy

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The Gods and “the Confidence of Bold Turnus”

At 12.650–64, a horseman rides to tell Turnus that while he has been wasting his efforts on the edge of the battlefield, Aeneas has all but captured the city, Latinus is on the verge of surrendering, and Latinus’ wife Amata has taken her own life. Turnus is stunned:

obstipuit varia confusus imagine rerum
Turnus et obtutu tacito stetit; aestuat ingens
uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu
et furiis agitatus amor et conscia virtus. (12.665–68)

(Astounded and confused by the shifting picture of things, Turnus stood in silent contemplation; in the one heart seethed great shame, madness mixed with grief, and passion stirred by rage and the sense of his own valor.)

Turnus has been led away from the battle by his sister Juturna, who has disguised herself as his charioteer in order to keep him from the final meeting with Aeneas. Turnus has penetrated her disguise, and in the last third of Book 12 will slowly come to full awareness of the extent to which he has been mistaken or deceived by the “shifting image of things.”

In chapter 1 I described deceptive prophecies made to Aeneas, and his disappointment and frustration at the way that events betray his expectations. Aeneas moves through cycles of hope followed by disappointment, followed by divine or other encouragement that leads to renewed hope. For Turnus,

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there is one, decisive cycle: he moves from the arrogant confidence of Books 7 and 9 to the disillusionment and painful awareness of the last third of Book 12. Turnus' arrogance is his own, but his misguided confidence and mistaken picture of the world are created in part by what he is told by divine messengers. Turnus is given divine commands in the dream apparition of Allecto at 7.406–57 and the visit of Iris at 9.1–24. At 9.126–38, he offers a favorable interpretation of Cybele's ominous changing of the Trojan ships into nymphs. These passages involving divine commands to Turnus resemble other prophecy scenes in both Homer and Vergil, particularly those described in chapter 1 in which the gods encourage Aeneas, which suggests that, like Aeneas, Turnus is a victim of misinformation. Each man's experience with deceptive divine encouragement is to be seen in the context of the other's: both men are used by the gods in ways they do not understand.

ALLECTO

In Book 7 Juno admits that Aeneas is fated to win Lavinia and to rule in Latium, but she resolves nevertheless to summon the powers of Hell to delay and darken Aeneas' marriage with the spilling of Trojan and Rutulian blood (7.313–18). She rouses from the underworld the fury Allecto, who first enrages Amata, the wife of Latinus (341–405), then goes to the house of Turnus, who is asleep (406–14). Disguised as Calybe (a priestess-prophetess of Juno), Allecto tries to rouse Turnus to action by telling him of the situation, and of Juno's commands for war. Turnus rejects her. Allecto's anger flares (445); she takes her true shape, mocks Turnus, and throws a torch into his breast. Turnus awakes crazed and mad for war (460–61).¹

¹ By 7.460–61 (*arma amens fremit, arma toro tectisque requirit;/ saevit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli*), Allecto has fulfilled to the letter Juno's command of 340: *arma velit poscatque simul rapiatque iuventus*. This is noted by Kühn (1971) 109n.6 and Fraenkel (1945) 6n.9; there are similar verbal echoes in the accomplishment of Juno's orders by both Aeolus in Book 1 (chap. 1, n.8) and Ju-

TURNUS

Some critics say that Turnus is wrong to fight against Aeneas because the gods have clearly shown that Lavinia should be given to the newcomer. Yet the divine commands given to Latinus about Lavinia are much more vague than Juno's orders here to Turnus. The omens of the bees (7.59–70) and Lavinia's flaming hair (71–80) portend only a stranger, war, and Lavinia's fame.² The oracle of Faunus which Latinus receives through incubation makes no mention of the gods, as Allecto does, but instead speaks of the political advantages of choosing Aeneas over Turnus:

ne pete conubiis natam sociare Latinis,
o mea progenies, thalamis neu crede paratis;
externi venient generi, qui sanguine nostrum
nomen in astra ferant, quorumque a stirpe nepotes
omnia sub pedibus, qua sol utrumque recurrens
aspicit Oceanum, vertique regique videbunt. (7.96–101)

(Do not seek an alliance for your daughter in a Latin marriage, my son, nor trust the wedding that's been arranged. Foreign sons-in-law will come, who by blood will raise our name to the stars, and from whose stock descendants will see all that the sun views, on its course from Ocean to Ocean, moving in obedience beneath their feet.)

In the most obvious sense *sanguine* in 99 means “bloodline,” and Faunus accurately predicts that the mixture of Latin and Trojan blood will bring fame to the Latins. But elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, *sanguis* means “blood, bloodshed,” and this is how the Trojans bring fame to the Latins, as scores of Latinus' peo-

turna in Book 12 (chap. 2, n.53). Though Juno seems to fail in the *Aeneid*, there is something inexorable about her orders.

² 7.68–70: *continuo vates 'externum cernimus' inquit/ 'adventare virum et partis petere agmen easdem/ partibus ex isdem et summa dominarier arce;* 79–80: *namque fore inlustrem fama fatisque canebat/ ipsam, sed populo magnum portendere bellum.* Note the *si non vana* motif in Latinus' words at 7.272–73.

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ple will die.³ The reader knows that it is fated for Aeneas to marry Lavinia, and I quote these lines not to cast doubt on that fact, but to show the contrasting clarity of the orders given to Turnus.

Like Somnus in his deadly visit to Palinurus in 5.838–61, Allecto tries persuasion before she uses force.⁴ She tells Turnus that his military efforts on behalf of the Latins will go unappreciated and unrewarded,⁵ and that Juno orders him to go to war:

. . . omnipotens Saturnia iussit.
quare age et armari pubem portisque moveri
laetus in arva para, et Phrygios qui flumine pulchro
consedere duces pictasque exure carinas.
caelestum vis magna iubet. (7.427–32)

(. . . the all-powerful Saturnian one ordered. So go and readily prepare the youth to arm and move from the gates to the fields, and burn out the Phrygian leaders camped at the lovely river and their painted ships. The great power of the heaven-dwellers commands.)

The dream apparition of Allecto is modeled in part on the Dream of Agamemnon in the *Iliad*, the archetypal scene of the deceptive dream in ancient literature, and resembles as well the dream apparition of Tiberinus to Aeneas that will occur at the beginning of Book 8. In *Iliad* 2, Zeus, in order to fulfill his plan to honor Achilles, sends a “Destructive Dream” to Agamemnon, with orders to attack Troy immediately.⁶ The

³ On this type of play on the positive and negative aspects of *sanguis* and other words in the *Aeneid*, see Commager (1981) 110–11; on this example, see Reckford (1961) 260 and Putnam (1970) 412.

⁴ Steiner (1952) 63n.2 and 84–85, Pöschl (1962) 191n.2, expanded in (1977) 122 and n.165; cf. also Fraenkel (1945) 4–6.

⁵ Cf. Pöschl (1962) 93–94 = (1977) 125–27, on Turnus’ patriotism and self-interest, and also Johnson (1976) 165n.65.

⁶ *Il.* 2.1–38; Kirk (1985) *ad Il.* 2.5–7: the dream is “‘destructive’ because dangerously misleading”; “for the deceptive dream as such this is the *locus classi-*

dreams of both Agamemnon and Turnus lead to an attack and, more specifically, to each poem's extensive Catalogue of Ships/Forces.⁷ Both dreams pretend that a concord of the gods insures victory for the man addressed: the dream tells Agamemnon that the gods are no longer fighting, for Hera has persuaded them all (οὐ γάρ ἔτ' ἀμφὶς Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες/ ἀθάνατοι φράζονται· ἐπέγναμψεν γὰρ ἅπαντας/ Ἥρη λισσομένη 2.30–32, "For no longer is there dissent among the immortals who make their homes on Olympus, since Hera's entreaties have convinced them all"); Allecto tells Turnus first that her commands come from Juno (*omnipotens Saturnia iussit* 428) but then that the "great power of the heaven-dwellers gives the order" (*caelestum vis magna iubet* 432). Allecto's use of the word *omnipotens* to describe Juno is deceptive: Turnus will fail, and die, in part because Juno is not all-powerful.⁸ Similarly, as noted in chapter 1, Tiberinus will deceive Aeneas by saying that all the anger of the gods has yielded (*tumor omnis et irae/ concessere deum* 8.40–41). The dreams that come by night (nearly always a time of deception in the *Aeneid*) to Agamemnon, Turnus, and Aeneas assure each man that the gods support him: "Hera has persuaded them *all*"; "the power of the *heaven-dwellers* commands"; "*all* the passion and anger of the gods has yielded." The deceptions of both Agamemnon and Turnus are part of the larger plans

cus." Kirk *ad* 15 and *ad* 38 notes ancient attempts to change or misread part of the message of Oneiros "to exonerate Zeus from total deceit"; ancient and modern scholiasts do the same to some of the lies in the *Aeneid*.

⁷ Cf. Gransden (1984) 77; Knauer (1964) 236–37 (noting the similarity of expression at *Il.* 2.28–30 and *Aen.* 7.429–32); Steiner (1952) 64–65; and Hübner (1970) 36. Heinze (1957) 187–89 discusses other parallels or models, including Callim. *Cer.* 42–57. There Demeter appears in disguise to Erysichthon, who is cutting down trees sacred to her; his harsh rejection of her increases his guilt, but Erysichthon rebuffs a disguised goddess warning him to stop an impious action, while Turnus rejects a fiend from hell who is urging him to go to war.

⁸ The word is used of Juno elsewhere only at 4.693, which is also problematical (see Austin [1955]), although there it is Vergil as narrator who uses the word.

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of gods: Zeus sends Agamemnon to disaster to honor Achilles, and Juno sends Turnus to a war she knows he cannot win to harass, delay, and annoy Aeneas. Allecto's deception is more harmful to its recipient: Agamemnon will suffer only temporary military defeat, while Turnus goes to his death.⁹

The reactions of Turnus and Agamemnon are also quite different, in a way that highlights Vergil's interest in depicting characters confused and deceived by their world. Agamemnon immediately trusts the deceptive dream (as Aeneas trusts Tiberinus), but Turnus rejects Calybe/Allecto:¹⁰

Hic iuuenis vatem inridens sic orsa vicissim
ore refert: 'classis invectas Thybridis undam
non, ut rere, meas effugit nuntius auris;
ne tantos mihi finge metus. nec regia Iuno
immemor est nostri.
sed te victa situ verique effeta senectus,
o mater, curis nequiquam exercet, et arma
regum inter falsa vatem formidine ludit.
cura tibi divum effigies et templa tueri;
bella viri pacemque gerent quis bella gerenda.'
(7.435-44)

(The young man mocks the prophetess as he begins to reply: "The report that a fleet has entered Tiber's waters has not, as you think, escaped my notice. Do not fabricate such fears for me. And Queen Juno is not unmindful of me. But you, oh mother, are provoked by the useless cares of an old age overcome by decay and sterile of truth, which make you a mockery of a prophet with false fears about the warfare of kings. Your concern is to watch over

⁹ Steiner (1952) 65.

¹⁰ See Pöschl (1977) 122-27 = (1962) 91-95, arguing against Heinze (1957) 18; Camps (1960) 38 ("Turnus . . . is unmoved by the efforts of Juno's agent to inflame him . . ." until "her supernatural power is directly asserted"); Coleman (1982) 151; Fraenkel (1945) 5.

TURNUS

the statues and temples of the gods. Men will wage war
and peace, by whom war should be waged.”)

Turnus knows that the Trojans have come,¹¹ but he does not yet lust for war, and his words show a healthy skepticism about this prophecy. Although Turnus’ sharp retort might indicate a strong potential for violence, his first reaction to Allecto is calm resistance.¹²

Vergil has even suggested that Juno sends Allecto to Turnus precisely because he has been too calm. Dreams in the *Aeneid*, it has been noted, do not generally visit characters out of the blue, without preparation,¹³ but come to those who are thinking about the problem the dream will address, and give advice

¹¹ The omens are all that have prevented his wedding (7.58–80), and Latinus and Rumor spread the report of Faunus’ oracle: *haec responsa . . . / . . . non ipse suo premit ore Latinus, / sed circum late volitans iam Fama per urbes / Ausonias tulerat* (7.102–4). When Amata runs off with Lavinia, Vergil says that Amata too went *per urbes* (384) and that again Rumor spread the news (*fama volat* 392).

¹² It will be clear that I am unimpressed with the arguments of those who say that Allecto is only a symbol of Turnus’ own innate *violentia*, e.g., Quinn (1968) 181–82: “whereas Amata had to be made mad . . . , Turnus is an easier case: the irrational element is already there; all Allecto needs to do is to touch it off”; Otis (1963) 325: “Turnus . . . is predisposed to Allecto’s point of view. . . . [T]here is no madness in the strict sense and no diminution of moral responsibility,” and 377: “Allecto only reinforces or gives demonic significance to motivations already present”; G. Williams (1983) 23; Heinze (1957) 291–318. Cf. instead Johnson (1976) 146, 161–63n.41; Camps (1960) 41–50; Coleman (1982) 143–68; and Lyne (1987) 61–99. There are some clues that the poem’s gods are to be regarded as just tropes or figures, but other details make them as real as Aeneas or Turnus.

One way of approaching the *Aeneid*’s gods might be to use the analysis of Todorov (1977) 179 of “fantastic narrative” in Henry James, where “to obey his determinist mentality, the reader finds himself obliged to choose between two solutions: either to reduce [the] phenomenon to known causes, to the natural order, describing the unwonted events as imaginary, or else to admit the existence of the supernatural and thereby to effect a modification in all the representations which form his image of the world. The fantastic lasts as long as this uncertainty lasts.”

¹³ Heinze (1957) 313–15: “sozusagen aus heiterem Himmel, ohne Vorber-
eitung.”

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that confirms or complements what the person already knows, and so could be said to push the person along the path of his own natural inclinations. This is also true of the non-dream visitation of Allecto to Amata: Allecto finds Amata already burning with worry and anger:

obsedit limen Amatae,
quam super adventu Teucrum Turnique hymenacis
femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant.
(7.343-45)

(She lays siege to the house of Amata, who was burning and boiling with womanly cares and anger about the arrival of the Trojans and the wedding of Turnus.)

She easily turns this anger into madness. Such divine urgings can perhaps rightly be said to “reinforce . . . motivations already present.”¹⁴ Turnus’ dream of Allecto is an exception to this pattern. Turnus sleeps peacefully:

tectis hic Turnus in altis
iam mediam nigra carpebat nocte quietem.
(7.413-14)

(Here Turnus in the lofty palace had already taken his rest for half of that dark night.)

Allecto/Calybe stresses this point, saying that she has been sent by Juno because Turnus is lying calmly in bed:

haec adeo tibi me, placida cum nocte iaceres,
ipsa palam fari omnipotens Saturnia iussit. (427-28)

(Since you were lying in peaceful night, the all-powerful Saturnian one herself ordered me to say these things to you.)

¹⁴ Otis (1963) 377.

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The phrase *placida cum nocte iaceres* has been misunderstood to refer banally to the timing of the apparition or of Juno's command,¹⁵ and good critics have rightly questioned why Calybe should tell Turnus that he is asleep.¹⁶ But Vergil was not merely telling the time of night. *Placida cum nocte iaceres* is a *cum*-clause of circumstance, which tells the cause of Allecto/Calybe's visit. In prophecy scenes, the description of the mood of the recipient before the prophecy is of considerable significance.¹⁷ Juno has sent Allecto to Turnus because he is sleeping too peacefully, because he has so far been too calm about the situation.

The Allecto scene is an inversion of what generally happens in prophecies to Aeneas: he is encouraged to persevere, when he is worried or discouraged, by prophecies that seek to "remove cares" (*curas demere*); Turnus is urged to go to war because he has not been worried enough. When Turnus says *nec regia Iuno/ immemor est nostri* (438–39, "nor is Queen Juno unmindful of me"), he shows his misguided confidence that his patron deity will take care of him, and that the situation will not get out of hand.¹⁸ He is also skeptical about why Juno spoke not to him but to Calybe, whom he characterizes as an untrustworthy source. Turnus reasonably thinks that Calybe's own cares and fears help delude her about the future. Ironically, Turnus, who will be the second half of the poem's embodiment of violent, impetuous *furor*, here in effect tells Calybe to calm down.

¹⁵ See Conington (1963), Heinze (1957), Henry (1873–92). T. Claudius Donatus' paraphrase is good: (*Iuno*) *iussit manifestari tibi per me, ne, dum securus noctem continuam dormiendo* (cf. *Il.* 2.24 παννύχιον εὔδειν, Oneiros to Agamemnon) *conteris, regnum simul et consortium perdis uxoris*.

¹⁶ See Heinze (1957) 188n.2: "Der Zusatz *placida cum nocte iaceres* würde die Sache allerdings gänzlich verwirren: damit gäbe sich ja der Traum gleich von vornherein als solcher, während doch Turnus dann noch der wirklichen Calybe antwortet"; Henry (1873–92) vol. 3, 560: "Who ever heard, in all the history of romance, of anything similar? The whole verisimilitude of the vision destroyed in one word by the apparition itself!" Steiner (1952) 65n.2 and Fordyce (1977) defend *iaceres* by pointing to Homeric models.

¹⁷ Cf. appendix to chap. 1.

¹⁸ Fordyce (1977) *ad* 438.

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Turnus' words perform the function of the *si non vana* motif discussed in chapter 1: often the speakers of prophecies mention the possibility that prophecy is vain, if only to deny it; here Turnus suspects that Calybe is not accurately reporting Juno's wishes. The problem is that his suspicions are wrongly directed at the medium and not the source of the divine commands, which come from a Juno ready to use his blood to delay Aeneas. Turnus mistrusts the dream that seeks to deceive him, but for the wrong reason. Then Allecto's reaction and her full epiphany show her to be indeed a divine power, and a divine messenger. Structurally, her metamorphosis takes the place of the signs, often miraculous, that elsewhere confirm prophecies or omens, like the sow that Tiberinus promises to Aeneas, *ne vana putes haec fingere somnum* (8.42, "so that you won't think these are the empty fabrications of a dream").¹⁹ When Turnus is inflamed by Allecto's torch, he has also, more insidiously, been convincingly deceived about the gods' wishes. An old priestess may be disbelieved, but a huge, whip-snapping, torch-throwing monster with snakes for hair speaks with a certain amount of authority.

IRIS

Book 9 opens with a second divine encouragement of Turnus, as Juno sends Iris to rouse him to attack the Trojans in Aeneas'

¹⁹ Cf. 7.438, *ne tantos mihi finge metus*. For confirmation of prophecies, cf. appendix to chap. 1; the closest parallel with the Allecto scene is at 1.402–5, where Venus' epiphany to Aeneas confirms her augury and advice (chap. 1, Orontes section).

Kragelund (1976) 67–68 says that "in the language of Roman divination," Allecto's burning torch is a sign "that the war Turnus is about to start will result in his own defeat and death." He compares the ominous torches in the dreams at Cic. *De Div.* 1.21.42; *Aen.* 4.472; Ovid *Her.* 16.46; [Sen.] *Oct.* 118 and 723. Thus Allecto's prophecy urging Turnus to war would contain an obscure prophecy of his death (cf. the vagueness of *bella manu letumque gero* 7.455), just as, e.g., the prophecy of Cymodocea in Book 10 and the omens of Venus in Book 8 overtly promise success in battle and more obscurely hint at Pallas' death.

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absence. Iris comes to a Turnus described as *audax*, as Allecto did (9.3, 7.409), but for now Turnus seems calm as he sits in a grove sacred to his ancestor Pilumnus. Kühn's comparison of this scene with a passage of Cicero's *De Divinatione* has shown that by the conventions of Roman divination Turnus seems to be waiting in this grove for precisely the kind of divine sign he receives.²⁰ Iris does not directly deceive Turnus: she misleads him in a way that complements Allecto's visit. Like Agamemnon's dream, Iris tells Turnus that *now* is the time for action, and she reproaches his hesitation, implicitly promising success in battle:

quid dubitas? nunc tempus equos, nunc poscere currus.
rumpe moras omnis et turbata arripe castra.

(9.12–13)

(Why do you hesitate? Now, now is the time to call for horse and chariot. Cease all delay and seize the camp while it lies in disarray.)²¹

The audience may see the significance of Iris' evasively worded opening, and her failure to answer Turnus' question about who sent her,²² but Turnus' faith is reasonable: while sitting in the grove of his ancestor he is visited by a god whose command to go to battle appears to be confirmed by a sign (Iris' rainbow).²³ His response is pious and proper:

'sequor omina tanta,
quisquis in arma vocas.' et sic effatus ad undam

²⁰ Cic. *De Div.* 1.45.104, cited by Kühn (1971) 125. Cf. also Pöschl (1977) 130 = (1962) 96: "the book begins with a gesture of *pietas* which demonstrates Turnus' faithful reverence for the ancestors."

²¹ Cf. *Il.* 2.23–24: εὔδεις, Ἀτρεΐος υἱὲ . . . οὐ χεῖρ παννύχιον εὔδειν, and 26, 29: νῦν δ' ἐμέθεν ξύνες ὦκα . . . νῦν γάρ κεν ἔλοις πόλιν.

²² Cf. 6–7 Turne, *quod optanti divum promittere nemo/ auderet.* . . . and 18–19 *quis te mihi nubibus actam/ detulit in terras?* and see Kühn (1971) 125–26.

²³ 9.20–21; for prophecies sealed by signs cf. appendix to chap. 1.

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processit summoque hausit de gurgite lymphas
multa deos orans, oneravitque aethera votis. (21-24)

("I follow such great omens, whoever you are who call me to war." And saying this he went to water and drew from the surface of the pool, praying much to the gods, and loading down heaven with his vows.)

Turnus "recognizes [Iris] as a goddess and acknowledges her divine authority with the same reverent ritual observances as Aeneas uses in similar circumstances."²⁴

Through allusion or echo, Vergil links the visit of Iris to other scenes of divine and usually misleading encouragement in Homer and elsewhere in the *Aeneid*. The arrival and departure of Iris are described in terms used in the visit of Iris to the Trojan women at *Aen.* 5.604-63. First 9.2 repeats 5.606, *Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno* ("Saturnian Juno sent Iris down from heaven"). Then 9.14-15, *in caelum paribus se sustulit alis/ingentemque fuga secuit sub nubibus arcum* ("She lifted herself to heaven with twin wings, and in her flight cut a huge rainbow beneath the clouds"), repeats much of 5.657-58 *dea se paribus per caelum sustulit alis/ingentemque fuga secuit sub nubibus arcum* ("The goddess lifted herself through heaven with twin wings, and in her flight cut a huge rainbow beneath the clouds"). Both Iris scenes deceive; structurally, each leads to one of the two attempts to burn Aeneas' ships.²⁵

Turnus' question to Iris, *Iri, decus caeli, quis te mihi nubibus actam/ detulit in terras?* (9.18-19, "Iris, ornament of heaven, who sent you driven through the clouds to earth for me?"), recasts the words used by Achilles to Iris in *Iliad* 18.182: Ἰρι θεά, τίς γάρ σε θεῶν ἐμοὶ ἄγγελον ἦκε; ("Goddess Iris, which god has sent you as messenger to me?"). An ancient commen-

²⁴ Camps (1960) 39. On *sequor* . . . *quisquis* in 21-22 cf. Aeneas' words to Mercury at 4.576-77: *sequimur te, sancte deorum,/ quisquis es*.

²⁵ Moskalew (1982) 132, Worstbrock (1963) 116-17; on the Iris scene, see Pöschl (1962) 96 = (1977) 130, Knauer (1964) 275-76, Camps (1960) 39, and Kühn (1971) 124-26.

tator on the *Iliad* says that Iris lies to Achilles, saying that Hector wants to cut off Patroclus' head and stick it on a pike, in order to rouse Achilles to battle fury. Vergil imitates this Homeric lie in having Iris deceive Turnus.²⁶

Turnus' short speech after Iris leaves is introduced by words that echo those used of Aeneas when Venus departs after her subtly deceptive encouragement in Book 1: *agnovit iuvenis . . . ac tali fugientem est voce secutus* (9.16-17, "the young man recognized her, and he followed her with these words as she fled") echoes *ille ubi matrem/ agnovit tali fugientem est voce secutus* (1.405-6, "when he recognized his mother, he followed her with these words as she fled").

In a broader way the incitement of Turnus at the start of the war, first by Allecto and then by Iris, corresponds to and parallels the encouragement of Aeneas by Tiberinus at 8.31-65, Venus at 8.608-16, and the nymph Cymodocea at 10.219-55;²⁷ indeed Iris' visit to Turnus is precipitated by Aeneas' quitting the scene in response to the instructions of Tiberinus. Allecto and Iris leave Turnus thoroughly deceived. The commands of the gods drive him, as they do Aeneas, though they are combined, in a way Vergil will never describe with clinical precision, with the madness of Allecto and Turnus' own feelings of pride, frustration, anger, selfish ambition, and concern for his people and his country.

²⁶ Heinze (1957) 421n.1; cf. schol. *Il.* 18.154-56: ὅταν . . . ἡ Ἴρις εἴπῃ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ ὅτι βούλεται ὁ Ἑκτώρ τὸν Πάτροκλον αἰκίσασθαι, νοητέον μὴ τάληθες (αὐτήν) ὑποφαίνειν, ἀλλὰ παρορμήσαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ὀργήν. See also Knauer (1964) 275-76, and cf. *rumpe moras omnis* (9.13) with ἀλλ' ἄνα, μηδ' ἔτι κείσο (*Il.* 18.178).

²⁷ Kühn (1971) 124-26. After the appearance of Tiberinus, Aeneas takes water in his hands and prays (8.68-69); after Iris' visit, Turnus prays (9.16-17), then takes water and prays more (22-23). Venus finds Aeneas in a secluded valley (*natumque in valle reducta . . . secretum* 8.609-10); Iris comes upon Turnus in a valley (*sacrata valle* 9.4). Cf. also the commands of Cymodocea to Aeneas at 10.241-42 (*surge age et Aurora socios veniente vocari/ primus in arma iube*, et . . .) with those of Allecto to Turnus at 7.429-30 (*quare age et armari/ pubem portisque moveri/ laetus in arva* [arva Peerlkamp, arma codd., Serv. Auct.] para, et . . .).

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CYBELE AND THE SHIPS; TURNUS AND AENEAS

Turnus attacks the Trojan camp in response to Iris' visit, and attempts to burn the Trojans' ships. Here Vergil describes an omen that further links Turnus' experience with the gods to that of Aeneas. The Great Mother Cybele takes action to save the ships:

hic primum nova lux oculis offulsit et ingens
visus ab Aurora caelum transcurrere nimbus
Idaeique chori; tum vox horrenda per auras
excidit et Troum Rutulorumque agmina complet:
'ne trepidate meas, Teucrici, defendere navis,
neve armate manus; maria ante exurere Turno
quam sacras dabitur pinus. vos, ite solutae,
ite deae pelagi; genetrix iubet.' (9.110-17)

(Here first a light shone, strange to the eyes, and a huge cloud seemed to cross the sky from the East, along with choruses from Mount Ida; then a terrible voice fell through the air and filled the columns of Trojans and Rutulians: "Do not be anxious, Trojans, to defend my ships, nor take up arms; it will sooner be granted to Turnus to burn the sea than the sacred pines. You, go free, go as goddesses of the sea; your mother commands.")

Cybele turns the ships into nymphs. The omen that precedes the metamorphosis resembles "an unexpected flash of lightning and peal of thunder, the latter being represented by the 'Idaei chori,' the Corybantes, who are supposed to clash their cymbals, and by the voice."²⁸ Turnus' men are frightened, but Turnus offers a favorable interpretation of the omen, and matches his own divine commands against those of the Trojans:

²⁸ Conington (1963) *ad* 110.

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Troianos haec monstra petunt, his Iuppiter ipse
 auxilium solitum eripuit: non tela neque ignis
 expectant Rutulos. ergo maria invia Teucris,
 nec spes ulla fugae. . . .
 . . . nil me fatalia terrent,
 si qua Phryges prae se iactant, responsa deorum;
 sat fatis Venerique datum, tetigere quod arva
 fertilis Ausoniae Troes. sunt et mea contra
 fata mihi, ferro sceleratam excindere gentem
 coniuge praerepta (9.128–31, 133–38)

(These bad omens are for the Trojans; Jupiter himself has taken away their usual protection: the ships do not wait for Rutulian weapons and fire. So the Teucrians are cut off from the sea, and cannot hope to flee. . . .

. . . The fateful oracles of gods that the Phrygians may brandish hold no terror for me. Enough has been granted to Venus and the fates that the Trojans have touched the fields of fertile Ausonia. And I too have my fated role to play, with sword to meet the theft of a wife with extermination of this criminal race.)

Turnus' words and actions reflect both his own rashness, and the influence of the visits of Allecto and Iris. Allecto told him to burn the Phrygians' ships: (*Phrygios qui flumine pulchro/ consedere duces pictasque exure carinas* 7.430–31, "burn out the Phrygian leaders camped at the lovely river and their painted ships"). So Turnus attempts to set fire to the fleet, and disparagingly calls the Trojans *Phryges* (9.134). The reader can see the portents in the sky, the booming voice of Cybele, and the changing of the ships into nymphs as bad omens for Turnus, but two factors should cause us to temper our criticism of Turnus somewhat. First, Turnus does not know as much as we about the motivations of Allecto, Iris, and Cybele. Since the metamorphosis removes the Trojan ships and accomplishes part of the task enjoined on Turnus by Juno, Allecto, and Iris, it is understandable that in the heat of battle he is not

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deterred from his faith in the gods and the rightness of his cause.²⁹

Second, these omens and Turnus' reaction to them are parallel to the heavenly portents in Pallanteum and Aeneas' favorable interpretation of them (8.522–40, discussed in the Pallas section of chapter 1), in some important and disturbing ways that have not, I think, received critical attention. Each omen involves sudden strange loud crashes and flashes of light in the sky (8.524–29, 9.110–12).³⁰ The same words describe the stunned reaction of each man's allies, whom each then tries to encourage: *obstipuerunt animis alii, sed Troius heros*. . . . (8.530, "the minds of the others were stunned, but the Trojan hero. . . ."); *obstipuerunt animis Rutuli* . . . / *at non audaci Turno fiducia cecidit* (9.123, 126, "the minds of the Rutulians were stunned . . . but the confidence of bold Turnus did not yield").³¹ Each tries to preclude a discouraging interpretation of the omens, by specifying to whom they apply: Turnus' *Troianos haec monstra petunt* (9.128, "these bad omens are for the Trojans") may be compared with Aeneas' *ne quaere . . . quem casum portenta ferant: ego poscor Olympo* (8.532–33, "don't ask what [mis-]fortune the omens bring: I am called by Olympus"). Each man backs up his interpretation with fierce, emotional declarations of his side's military and especially moral superiority (8.537–40 and 9.136–58). Aeneas cites Venus' words to explain the portents: *hoc signum cecinit missuram diva creatrix* (8.534, "my goddess mother said in song she'd send this sign"). With less precision but with equal justification Turnus says, *sunt et mea contra/ fata mihi, ferro sceleratam exscindere gentem* (9.136–37, "I too have my fated role, to exterminate with sword this criminal race"). The words *sunt et mea fata mihi* are difficult to translate; they mean both "I too have my fated role," and

²⁹ Cf. Gransden (1984) 99; Heinze (1957) 423n.2; *contra* Otis (1963) 347 ("The sophistic character of such an argument is obvious").

³⁰ Conington (1963) *ad* 9.110: "the appearance seems to be substantially the same."

³¹ Barchiesi (1984) 77–78 compares the reaction of the Myrmidons and Achilles to the arms made by Hephaestus (*Il.* 19.14–17: "but Achilles. . .").

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"prophecies, divine communications, have been made to me too." As noted in the discussion in chapter 1 of *fandi doctissima Cymodocea* ("Cymodocea best at speaking [prophetically]"), the Romans saw a connection between the word used here, *fata*, and the verb Allecto uses at 7.428: *fari omnipotens Saturnia iussit* ("the Saturnian one ordered me to speak").³² Turnus understandably asserts that divine messages have been given to him, too.

Much has been made of Turnus' failure to ask for confirmation of his reading of the ships omen, but for him the metamorphosis of the ships is his confirmation of what he has been told by Calybe and most recently by Iris. Turnus' assessment of the situation and of the omens is misguided, but his position is reasonable, and broadly comparable to that of Aeneas at 8.522–40, where he does not see or admit that the omens also portend for him and for Evander the sorrow of the death of Pallas.³³ The ambiguity and complexity of each set of omens are similar. Further, Turnus' words at 9.133–38 are partly right. I noted in chapter 1 the similarity of Turnus' words about the Trojans here, Dido's curse for Aeneas to die soon after he reaches Italy, and Apollo's prophecy that Palinurus would reach the *finis* of Italy safely. Turnus' words here are close to the truth: it will nearly be enough for fate and for Venus that Aeneas reach Italy, for Aeneas will die or be taken up to heaven fairly soon. And it is indeed Turnus' fate to fight the *scelerata gens*, for when Juno agrees to let Aeneas kill Turnus, Jupiter agrees that the Latin contribution to the Roman people should outweigh the somewhat undesirable Trojan element.³⁴ Turnus' misguided faith in Juno and in what he has

³² Heinze (1957) 423n.2. Cf. chap. 1, n.67 for Vergil's use of the etymological connection between *fata* and *fari*. It may be significant that when Turnus says *sunt et mea fata mihi*, the reader has seen the scene to which he refers, but when Aeneas says that Venus told him about the omens, it is the first mention of this communication.

³³ For Aeneas' reaction to the heavenly omens, cf. chap. 1, Pallas section.

³⁴ For Aeneas' death, see 1.263–66 and chap. 3; for the agreement of Jupiter and Juno, see upcoming section on Turnus and *devotio*.

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been told is similar to the persistent belief of Aeneas that Juno can be reconciled to him, and indeed to Aeneas' continuing belief in the benevolent direction of the gods, despite the unforeseen disasters that follow the divine reassurances that he is given.

Aeneas, Turnus, and Io

Vergil further associates the experiences of Turnus and Aeneas with the gods by first linking each man separately, and then both together, with the figure of Io. In chapter 1 I showed that in the ecphrasis of the temple of Juno in Carthage, Vergil may be associating Aeneas with the Io of Calvus' poem, to suggest that like her, he will be persecuted relentlessly by Juno. Turnus is linked to Io in another ecphrasis, the description of his shield at 7.789-91:

levem clipeum sublati cornibus Io
auro insignibat, iam saetis obsita, iam bos,
argumentum ingens

(For on the light shield Io with uplifted horns was carved in gold, already covered with animal hair, already a cow, the great story.)

On the surface, "the figure of Io, daughter of Inachus, King of Argos, . . . commemorates Turnus' Argive ancestry."³⁵ The implications of this passage go deeper, for the lines describe Io as she has been metamorphosed into a heifer. Tradition had it that Juno, jealous over Jupiter's love for Io, either turned her into a cow or gave Jupiter reason to, and also drove her mad by sending a gadfly to torment her.³⁶ Calvus must have described this last detail, perhaps in words later borrowed by the author of *Ciris* 184: *fertur et horribili praeceps im-*

³⁵ Fordyce (1977) *ad loc.*

³⁶ References in Buchheit (1963) 114.

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pellitur oestro ("she is carried and driven headlong by this frightening [gadflylike] goad").³⁷ One scholar says that the shield shows the ability of Juno, the "Schutzgöttin" or tutelary goddess of Turnus, to take vengeance on her enemies, and this indeed may be what Turnus intended. But Vergil is also suggesting that like Io, Turnus has been both transformed and driven mad because of Juno: "Both Io and Turnus are victims of divine interference."³⁸ The Hellenistic bucolic poet Moschus, Vergil's predecessor in describing Io in an ecphrasis, provides encouragement for the suggestion that Vergil is drawing the parallel between the experiences of Turnus and Io here.³⁹ When she is about to be raped by Zeus, Moschus' Europa carries a basket bearing an elaborate description (carved in gold, like Turnus' shield) of scenes from Zeus' seduction of Io, which clearly foreshadows what will happen to Europa.⁴⁰

Vergil also subtly links Aeneas and Turnus to Io and the maddening gadfly near the poem's end. At 12.715–22, as they begin their single combat, Aeneas and Turnus are compared to fighting bulls, whom Vergil oddly places in some seldom mentioned Italian locations: *ingenti Sila summove Taburno* (12.715). These obscure place names, it has been noted, call to mind the two Latin words for gadfly, *asilus* and *tabanus*.⁴¹ The learned allusion to the maddening gadfly calls to mind Io, who

³⁷ See Lyne (1978) on tracing this line in the *Ciris* back to Calvus. The word *oestrum* is used metaphorically in the *Ciris*, but presumably literally in the *Io*.

³⁸ Small (1959) 250–51; see also Buchheit (1963) 113–15, R. D. Williams (1961), Heinze (1957) 398n.2 (for "Schutzgöttin"), Putnam (1970) 425, and especially Ross (1987) 157–63.

³⁹ Vergil's debt to Moschus here has long been recognized. See Buchheit (1963) 114 and n.474, and Bühler (1960) 95.

⁴⁰ *Europa* 37–62. Cf. Townend (1983) 28, Buchheit (1963) 114n.474, and Bühler (1960) 85–86.

⁴¹ Thomas (1982a) 84n.13. As Thomas explains, Vergil punned on *asilus* and the place name *Silarus* in *Geo.* 3.146–48 (which contain a "probable reminiscence" of the line in Calvus' *Io* suggested by *Ciris* 184), and was following an Alexandrian tradition of playing with the etymology of words for gadfly. On the gadfly and Io in Calvus, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*, see Ross (1987) 157–63.

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figures in many of the previous poetic discussions of words for gadfly. Vergil provides a reminder of a major cause of the suffering of Turnus and Aeneas, and of their final battle: like Io, both Aeneas and Turnus are victims of Juno's persecution.⁴²

Turnus suffers in part not because of his own violence—though his *violentia* is at times horrifying⁴³—but because of his *pietas* and trust in the gods, which are a prominent part of Vergil's portrait of him. The Allecto, Iris, and Cybele scenes show his confidence in Juno and his willingness to follow divine commands and omens that he sees as trustworthy. After Allecto's visit, Turnus rouses the Rutulians to arms with the thought of the gods as allies: *divosque in vota vocavit* (7.471, "he calls the gods as witness to his vows"). Later, when Juno wants to save him from Aeneas, she reminds Jupiter of his extensive offerings: *tua larga/ saepe manu multisque oneravit limina donis* (10.619–20, "he often generously loaded your threshold with many gifts"), and Jupiter in part grants her request.⁴⁴ Turnus remains obedient to what he sees to be the will of the gods: at 12.676–77 he says, *iam iam fata, soror, superant, absiste morari;/ quo deus et quo dura vocat Fortuna sequamur* ("now, now, sister, the fates win out, so stop delaying; let us go where god and harsh fortune call"). His worst moments of disgrace are when the gods deceive him into appearing to be a coward. He tries to kill himself when Juno draws him away after the false Aeneas (10.668–86). In Book 12, when Turnus realizes that Juturna has been keeping him away from the important battle for the city, Vergil describes his confused anger, in the lines with which this chapter began:

⁴² For other connotations of the simile, see Putnam (1965) 182–86 and Briggs (1980) 49–50.

⁴³ See, e.g., Clausen (1987) 83–100.

⁴⁴ See Conington (1963) for Iliadic parallels. The word *oneravit* appears in both Juno's description of Turnus' *pietas* and the poet's description of his reaction to Iris at 9.24.

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obstipuit varia confusus imagine rerum
Turnus et obtutu tacito stetit; aestuat ingens
uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu
et furiis agitatus amor et conscia virtus. (12.665–68)

(Astounded and confused by the shifting picture of things
Turnus stood in silent contemplation; in the one heart
seethed great shame, madness mixed with grief, and pas-
sion stirred by rage and the sense of his own valor.)

In the final battle, Aeneas tries to pull his spear loose from the
stump of a tree sacred to the Italian god Faunus, which the
Trojans have cut down. Turnus prays to Faunus and Terra,
reminding them (and us) of his pious reverence, which he con-
trasts with the unfeeling sacrilege of the Trojans:

‘Faune, precor, miserere,’ inquit ‘tuque optima ferrum
Terra tene, colui vestros si semper honores,
quos contra Aeneadae bello fecere profanos.’
dixit, omneque dei non cassa in vota vocavit.
(12.777–79)

(“Faunus, I pray, take pity,” he said, “and you, noble
Earth, hold the weapon, if I always cared for your wor-
ship, which by contrast the men of Aeneas have profaned
for the sake of war.” He spoke, and called for god’s help
not in vain.)

Until Venus intervenes, the spear remains stuck, so it seems
to Turnus that his prayers have been answered, preserving al-
most until the end some of the illusion that the gods are with
him. Turnus learns the truth only when Jupiter sends the Dira
as a sign of divine ill will at 12.853–95; there he tells Aeneas
that although Aeneas’ words do not frighten him, the realiza-
tion that the gods and Jupiter oppose him does (*di me terrent et
Iuppiter hostis* 895).

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Turnus and *devotio*

Aeneas and Turnus never realize the full extent to which they have been deceived by and about the gods, or how similar their situations and suffering have been.⁴⁵ Their experiences moreover are alike not only in that they are deceived, but also in why they are deceived. Not only the gods' encouragement of Aeneas, but also Juno's deception and betrayal of Turnus and Turnus' opposition to Aeneas play an important role in determining the course of Roman history.⁴⁶ Vergil describes Turnus' actions at the end of the poem in terms that suggest a *devotio*, the rite whereby a Roman military leader formally sacrifices his life at the hands of the enemy in order to ensure victory for the remaining Romans and defeat for those who have killed him. At 11.440–44, Turnus says:

vobis animam hanc . . . devovi. . . .
nec Drances potius, sive est haec ira deorum,
morte luat, sive est virtus et gloria, tollat.

(To you I have devoted this soul. . . . And let not Drances, if this is the anger of the gods, propitiate it in death instead, nor if this is a time for virtue and glory, take it away from me.)

The suggestion of *devotio* continues at 12.234 (*ille quidem ad superos, quorum se devovet aris, / succedet*, "he goes to the gods at whose altars he devotes himself"); 12.646–49 (*Manes . . . sancta ad vos anima . . . descendam*, "Spirits of the Dead, I shall go to you a sacred soul"); 12.694–95 (*me verius unum pro vobis foedus luere*, "it is more fitting for me alone to atone for the breaking of the truce for you"), and 12.14–17.⁴⁷ This is not a

⁴⁵ Cf. Johnson (1976) 114 (quoted below in this chapter), 128–33, and chap. 3 *passim*, on the common ignorance of Aeneas and Turnus about the activities of Juno.

⁴⁶ Cf. the brief comments of R. D. Williams (1984) 360. On Juno's actions at Carthage, see Konstan (1986) 25: "Juno too is fate."

⁴⁷ See especially Johnson (1976) 117–19 on 11.440–44 and 12.14–17.

careful, technically complete depiction of the full ritual, but Vergil's allusions to *devotio* are sufficient for him to make thematic suggestions about the role of the death of Turnus.

Normally, a *devotio* by the leader of one faction brings victory to his side and disaster to the opposition: he carries the enemy down with him.⁴⁸ Thus in Livy, Decius Mus the elder says, *legiones auxiliaque hostium mecum Deis Manibus Tellurique devoveo* (8.9.8, "The legions and allies of the enemy I devote with me to the Spirits of the Dead and to the Earth").⁴⁹ On one level, this does not happen in the *Aeneid*, because Aeneas and the Trojans win the war and will rule or at least share rule in Latium. Turnus himself mentions no role for his *devotio* other than to expiate the guilt that the Italians may have incurred in fighting against the gods' will (11.440–44, 12.694–95). On another level, the conversation of Jupiter and Juno at 12.793–840 suggests that true to usual practice in a *devotio*, guilt has been not only expiated but also transferred, and Turnus' side wins. An important development in recent Vergilian scholarship has been the recognition of Vergil's ambivalence and uneasiness about the Romans' legendary Trojan heritage.⁵⁰ The treachery of Laomedon, the wife-stealing of Paris, and the effeminacy and fondness for luxury of the "Phrygians" as described by Iarbas, Numanus Remulus, and Turnus, are not mentioned so frequently in the poem simply in order to be refuted—although some will still claim that this is the case—but are part of a contrast developed between the simple virtues of the Italians and the more advanced (and in some

⁴⁸ On *devotio*, see Burkert (1979) 59–77 with references in 170n.15; Skutsch (1985) 353–55, Versnel (1981) 135–94, and Stübner (1941) 173–204 (189n.51 on Turnus). On Turnus, see also Hübner (1970) 17–18 and Thornton (1976) 136–39; I do not endorse all of their claims.

⁴⁹ Cf. also Livy 8.9.10, 12; 10.28.13, 17; 10.29.2, 3–4, 7. Versnel (1976) 365–410 shows that the self-sacrifice of a military leader "*does not occur independently but only in combination with the devotio hostium*" (p. 408, emphasis his).

⁵⁰ Thomas (1982) 93–107; Feeney (1984) 179–94; Wiesen (1973) 736–65, esp. 744–47; Binder (1971) 71–72; Gotoff (1984) 217n.60; Jenkyns (1985) 66–68; G. Williams (1983) 142–44. See also next note.

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ways more decadent) Trojan society. Turnus claims that his fate is to “exterminate with sword this criminal race” (9.136–37). The death of Turnus, to which Vergil has added several suggestions of *devotio*, follows from the conversation in which Juno agrees to let Turnus die, but persuades Jupiter to agree that the Italian contribution to Rome should predominate, and that Troy should die out, with the Trojan element in Rome strictly circumscribed. As in a *devotio*, Turnus’ death seems to bring victory to the cause he has championed, and defeat to the opposition, the *scelerata gens*: the Trojan qualities that he and others characterize as decadent will to some extent subside, and the Italian character for which Turnus has been fighting will be preserved.⁵¹

So Juno by her deception of Turnus, and by her consenting to his death at the end of the poem, sacrifices him to Jupiter to produce the synthesis of Trojan and mostly Italian that will become Rome. Though the two characters are quite different in almost every way, there are close parallels between the experiences of Turnus and Aeneas. A superficial reading of the poem suggests that only Aeneas represents Rome, but Turnus too is driven by the gods’ commands; he fights and dies for what in reality are Roman values. Both Aeneas and Turnus are used, deceived, and confused by the gods, and by their world:

⁵¹ Cf. Juno at 12.827–28: *sit Romana potens Italia virtute propago:/ occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia*; Jupiter at 12.835–36: *commixti corpore tantum/ subsident Teucri*. G. Williams (1983) 144 aptly describes Jupiter’s words as “devastatingly dismissive.”

The question of the poem’s attitude toward the Romans’ Trojan heritage is difficult and controversial, for two reasons. First, many of the disparaging remarks about Trojans are made by their enemies, which leads some to discount them. I do not, however, because I do not believe Vergil presents any views in the *Aeneid* solely to refute them (it would be better to have kept silent), and because the “decadence” of the Trojans is seen in other features of the poem as well: see esp. G. Williams (1983) 142–44. Second, it is not clear to what extent the Trojan element actually *will* subside: Jupiter’s words to Juno are a prophecy, and as such are no more authoritative than any other prophecy. This second problem is more significant, and what I have said in the text will seem true only to the extent that the *Aeneid* suggests that Jupiter is being truthful to Juno. See chap. 4, Jupiter and Venus section.

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[E]ssentially both men move in a world where appearances are not only deceptive but also potentially fatal and where—for them and for the reader too—the flux of perceptions . . . is never finally caught up into a pattern that is at once intelligible and trustworthy. Aeneas and Turnus, like the other characters in the poem, inhabit a world where the brighter the shining of glory or prophecy, the surer and more terrible the darkness will be.⁵²

THE AUGUR TOLUMNIUS

I close this chapter with a simple description of a scene of overt divine deception. At 12.244–56, Turnus' sister Juturna sends a false bird omen to encourage the Italians to break the truce arranged for the duel between Turnus and Aeneas. Juno had urged Juturna to interfere:

tu pro germano si quid praesentius audes,
perge; decet. forsan miseros meliora sequentur.
(12.152–53)

(If you dare anything more opportune for your brother, do it. You should. It may be things will turn out better for those now unfortunate.)

Juturna first incites the Rutulians verbally while disguised as one of them, then she sends an omen:

his aliud maius Iuturna adiungit et alto
dat signum caelo, quo non praesentius ullum
turbavit mentes Italas monstroque fefellit.
(244–46)⁵³

⁵² Johnson (1976) 114; cf. also his 128–33 and chap. 3 *passim*.

⁵³ Kleinknecht (1963) 447n.27 notes the resemblance to 2.199–200, where the ominous snakes appear: *Hic aliud maius miseris multoque tremendum/ obicitur magis atque improvida pectora turbat*. The word *praesentius* appears in both Juno's orders (12.152) and Juturna's fulfillment of them (12.245); on verbal repetition in the following of Juno's commands, cf. n.1.

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(To these efforts Juturna joins another greater, and gives a sign in high heaven more opportune than any to shake the Italian minds and deceive them with a portent.)

An eagle (*Iovis ales*) scatters some shore birds, then snatches in its claws a swan (250). The other birds turn to pursue the eagle until he drops the swan (251–56). The Rutulians greet this with a shout, and the augur Tolumnius accepts and plausibly explains the omen, saying that as the birds drove off the eagle and saved the swan, so too the Rutulians can and should drive off Aeneas and save their king:

‘hoc erat, hoc votis’ inquit ‘quod saepe petivi.
accipio agnoscoque deos; me, me duce ferrum
corripite, o miseri, quos improbus advena bello
territat invalidas ut avis, et litora vestra
vi populat. petet ille fugam penitusque profundo
vela dabit. vos unanimi densete catervas
et regem vobis pugna defendite raptum.’ (259–65)

(“This, this,” he says, “is what I’ve often sought in prayer. I accept and recognize the gods. With me, with me as leader take up weapons, you wretched ones, whom this criminal outsider terrifies in war like helpless birds, and ravages your shores with violence. He will seek flight and sail far out to sea. You crowd together in unified squads and fight to defend the king who’s been snatched from you.”)

He throws a spear that kills one of nine brothers; the other brothers retaliate, and the truce is broken (266–82). Tolumnius’ words are colored by partisan moral judgments, but that his precise interpretation of the omen should be correct can be shown by comparing it with Venus’ interpretation of the quite

Kleinknecht also compares this omen to the prodigious snakes that devour Laocoon and his sons in Book 2; on this, see also Grassmann-Fischer (1966) 98.

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similar and obviously parallel eagle-swans omen at 1.390–400. There, as we have seen, the details of omen and reality tightly correspond, to a greater extent than even Venus' words indicate.⁵⁴ So Tolumnius' interpretation is right, but his prediction is wrong. Aeneas will be delayed, but not routed. Tolumnius himself will be killed—an augur who cannot foresee his own death—right after Aeneas returns to battle after being wounded (12.460). And finally, Turnus will die. The “bitter irony” of Vergil's casual first mention of Tolumnius at 11.429 has been remarked upon.⁵⁵ There Turnus, in attempting to rouse the Latins after the news that there will be no help forthcoming from Diomedes, says:

at Messapus erit felixque Tolumnius et quos
tot populi misere duces. . . .

(But we still have Messapus, and fortunate Tolumnius,
and the leaders so many peoples have sent.)

In 12.260 Tolumnius' ironic *accipio agnoscoque deos* (“I accept and recognize the gods”) stresses the gap between the characters' belief that at times it is possible to know the future and predict success with confidence, and the poem's insistence that error, confusion, and disaster are unavoidable.

⁵⁴ On the bird omen in Book 1, see chap. 1, Orontes section. On the parallels between the two bird omens see especially Grassmann-Fischer (1966) 96–99, Hübner (1970) 113–17, Block (1981) 184–91, Putnam (1965) 165–67, and Anderson (1971) 57–58.

⁵⁵ Heinze (1957) 230n.3.

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Prophecy and the *res laetae* That Await Aeneas

Near the end of Book 2, Aeneas describes the disappearance of Creusa as the most painful aspect of the fall of Troy: *quid in eversa vidi crudelius urbe?* (2.746, “what did I see more cruel in the sack of the city?”). As Aeneas frantically searches for his wife, her *imago* or *simulacrum* appears to him and speaks words of consolation, telling him that her death is part of the gods’ plan, and that “happy times” (*res laetae*) await him in a Western land:

tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis: . . .
‘longa tibi exsilia et vastum maris aequor arandum,
et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydus arva
inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris.
illic res laetae regnumque et regia coniunx
parta tibi; lacrimas dilectae pelle Creusae. . . .’
(2.775, 780–84)

(Then she addressed him, and took away his cares with these words: . . . “Long exile awaits you, and ploughing the desolate plain of the sea, and you will come to the Western land where the Lydian Tiber flows in smooth formation through men’s rich fields. There happy times and a kingdom and a royal wife have been provided for you; do not weep for beloved Creusa.”)

Like others who make prophecies to Aeneas, Creusa helps, consoles, and deceives him when he is discouraged,¹ giving

¹ The line used to introduce Creusa’s speech, *tum sic adfari et curas his demere*

him some accurate and useful information about the future, but also presenting a picture of the future that is more optimistic than realistic. When Creusa says, "there happy times and a kingdom and a royal wife have been provided for you," she promises what will not yet be seen by the end of the poem, "a happy, settled state, both domestically and politically."² Similarly, in the speech in Book 1 that Vergil characterizes as "feigning hope on the surface," Aeneas urges his men after the storm to think of the *sedes quietae* that await them in Latium. In Creusa's speech, the choice of the verb *parta* ("provided," "procured," "obtained," "come into being") suggests that "the royal power and the royal bride are already realized and waiting only to be claimed."³ Creusa does describe Aeneas' long wanderings (*longa tibi exsilia . . .*), but she makes no mention of the wars that will have to be fought to win the kingdom and bride that here seem only to await his arrival. This omission is understandable, given both Aeneas' state of mind, and Creusa's apparent goal of consoling Aeneas and allowing him to accept her death; a prophecy of future war would be particularly disheartening for one whose city is being sacked after ten years of warfare. The *res laetae* that Creusa predicts are not described in the *Aeneid*; at the end of Book 12 Aeneas has killed Turnus and won through blood and toil only a bride he has not met.⁴

dictis, will be repeated in Book 8 when Tiberinus tells Aeneas that all the gods' anger has yielded, that he should seek help from Evander, and that the way to succeed is to appease Juno's anger with sacrifice (as well as at 3.153, when the Penates explain Apollo's admonition to "seek your ancient mother"). In Book 2 this line, and the depiction of Aeneas at 2.745-77, provide the description of the recipient's mood important in many prophecy scenes (cf. appendix to chap. 1).

² Austin (1964) ad 783. Servius ad 2.776 rightly labels Creusa's speech a *consolatio*; see chap. 4 at n.26.

³ Austin (1964) ad 784; he compares 6.89, *alius Latio iam partus Achilles*, also in a prophecy.

⁴ Cf. Griffin (1986) 172. On what Creusa's prophecy leaves out, see Mack (1978) 57 and 69, and Block (1981) 228. Heinze (1957) 62 says Vergil would have revised this prophecy because it gives Aeneas too much information (so too, e.g., Cairns [1977] 112), but see Tracy (1953) 281-84, and (1963) 28-31,

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In chapter 1 I described prophecies that mislead Aeneas about the deaths of others, in chapter 2 the deception and misconceptions of Turnus about his own fate. This chapter will look at prophecies and other passages concerned with Aeneas' fate, a topic touched on earlier in terms of both Aeneas' pain at the deaths of others, and the vain admonitions of Helenus and Tiberinus about pacifying the anger of Juno. Creusa's prophecy is like many considered earlier in that it encourages Aeneas by omitting mention of future toils that will be described during the narrative of the poem. Her prophecy is different in that it looks beyond the poem to a time of *res laetae*, which may await Aeneas after the events of Book 12. For the prophecies described in chapter 1, Vergil calls attention to the discrepancy between prophecy and outcome; at times he recalls the prophecy as he describes the event, as with the repetition of several words from the prophecy of Cymodocea in Vergil's epitaph for Pallas. Chapter 2 deals with a character whose story the narrative follows to his death. This chapter will deal with prophecies about events whose outcome is not fully described in the narrative. Vergil several times touches on the future and even the death of Aeneas, in ways that suggest that he is being used, and will be sacrificed, much as Turnus is, but interpretation of the passages involved must remain tentative and uncertain. Vergil calls to mind the pattern of the omission of the death of one individual from a bright prophecy, yet is elusive about the degree to which the death of Aeneas will conform to this pattern.

In this chapter I shall analyze first the conflict between a reference by Anchises to Aeneas' old age and Jupiter's prophecy that he will live only three more years, then the different picture of Aeneas' future presented by the curse of Dido, then Vergil's allusions to the traditional story of Aeneas' death. Finally, I shall discuss the significance of the gods' deception of Aeneas in the *Aeneid*, in part against the backdrop of the role

where he argues that Creusa's vague references to "Hesperia" and the "Lyidian Tiber" do not give Aeneas a clear idea of his goal.

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of deception in the rhetoric, religion, and politics of Vergil's day.

ANCHISES AND JUPITER

The great prophecy in the underworld in which Anchises tells Aeneas about their future Roman descendants is a speech of exhortation designed to encourage Aeneas to virtue.⁵ Anchises' speech will be considered at some length in the next chapter (which focuses on the prophecies of Rome), but one detail is of concern here. Although Anchises' speech ends with the sad lament for Marcellus, it begins with happier news for Aeneas: he is quietly told that he will live a long life. The first person that Anchises points out to him is the son Lavinia will bear to him in old age:

Silvius, Albanum nomen, tua postuma proles,
quem tibi longaevio serum Lavinia coniunx
educet silvis. (6.763-65)

(Silvius, of Alban name, your posthumous offspring,
whom your wife Lavinia will raise in the woods for you
late, after a long life.)

Anchises tells Aeneas that he will be *longaevus*, "long-lived," using the adjective applied elsewhere to such very old persons as Priam, Latinus, Turnus' father Daunus, the Sibyl, and Anchises himself.⁶ This reference to a long life for Aeneas is both unparalleled in the tradition, and inconsistent with what is said elsewhere in the poem. The prophecy that Jupiter makes

⁵ Norden (1957) *ad* 752-886 (p. 313); cf. chap. 4, n.88.

⁶ Priam: 2.525; Latinus: 7.166, Daunus: 12.44, the Sibyl: 6.321, 688; and Anchises: 3.165, 5.535. The word also describes old Beroe (5.620), the *senes* who are too old to go further than Aceso (5.715), *antiquus* . . . Buteas (9.650), an *haruspex* (8.498), and the physician Iapyx (12.420). Some references in Christmann (1976) 264-66; see also upcoming n.12.

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to Venus in Book 1 says that Aeneas will live only three more years:

bellum ingens geret Italia populosque ferocis
contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet,
tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas
ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis.

(1.263–66)

(He will wage a great war in Italy and beat down fierce peoples, and give customs and walls to men, until the third summer has seen him reigning in Latium, and the third time of winter camps has gone by with the Rutulians defeated.)

Two entire lines, each with a word for “third” in emphatic first position, stress the number of years left in Aeneas’ life; line 266 might well have been omitted but for an apparent desire to repeat this number.⁷ Yet Anchises predicts long life for Aeneas. Why? One commentator suggests that “old age sets in early at poetic need.”⁸ Most have assumed that Vergil is being accidentally inconsistent. Inconsistencies in prophecies have often been attributed to Vergil’s inability to polish the poem before his death, and it has not been unreasonable to suppose that Vergil meant to revise what Anchises says to Aeneas at 6.763–65. But in light of the pattern of optimistic prophecies that omit deaths of individuals, it seems better to consider whether Vergil may have deliberately let these two passages be incompatible.

Vergil’s untimely death and the few obvious signs of incompleteness in the *Aeneid*—such as the half-lines—may have obscured for readers Vergil’s deliberate poetic use of inconsistencies. In the fully polished *Georgics*, Vergil’s misstatements about agriculture and inconsistent statements about Italy or the rewards of farming have been shown to be not signs of

⁷ Cf. the way Vergil stresses the numbers of ships in Venus’ interpretation of the bird augury in Book 1, as discussed in chap. 1 at n.5.

⁸ Austin (1977) *ad* 6.764.

ignorance or inattention, but deliberate errors and falsehoods used as vehicles of poetic suggestion.⁹ For narrative poetry, the Homeric scholia—of which Vergil seems to have had some knowledge¹⁰—and other sources discuss the idea that inconsistencies in statements made by a character in a poem need not be errors on the part of the poet, but may reflect the mood, character, or rhetorical goals of the speaker. This is the λύσις ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου or “solution from the character speaking (or ‘persona’),” and some ancient sources that provide a context for interpretation of inconsistencies in the *Aeneid* are collected in an appendix to this chapter.

In *Aeneid* 6, the subtle prediction of a long life for Aeneas is part of the encouragement given in Anchises’ prophecy; Servius appropriately refers to the words *quem tibi longaevo* as a *consolatio*.¹¹ Anchises’ words can be defended by saying, as Servius does, that the word *longaevus* “really” means that Aeneas will have long life as an immortal, or as a modern scholar has suggested, that his toils and troubles make him seem long-lived before his time. But these are certainly not the most natural meanings of the word.¹² Often prophecies are “true” in

⁹ Cf. Ross (1987) esp. 109–28, “Laudations and the Lie,” and also Thomas (1982) 76–77.

¹⁰ Cf. Schlunk (1974).

¹¹ On the passages to which Servius applies this term (among them Creusa’s prophecy of *res laetae*), see chap. 4 at n. 26.

¹² Cf. Servius *ad loc.*: ‘*quem tibi longaevo*,’ *id est deo: aevum enim proprie aeternitas est, quae non nisi in deos venit*. This definition was perhaps invented for this passage, for *longaevus* is generally opposed to or distinguished from *aeternus*, etc.; see ThLL s.v. “*longaevus*” (1617) 52–71. The invention may date back to near Vergil’s time: in the second century Gell. NA 2.16 attributes to Apollinaris Sulpicius the suggestion that *longaevo* means *in longum iam aevum et perpetuum recepto immortalique facto*. Apollinaris is refuting Caesellius Vindex’s *Commentarium Lectionum Antiquarum*, so Caesellius must have been discussing earlier theories. Then Gellius casts doubt on Apollinaris: *Hoc sane Apollinaris argute. sed aliud tamen est “longum aevum,” aliud “perpetuum,” neque dii “longaevi” appellantur, sed “immortales.”*

G. Williams (1983) 144 suggests that “the adjective . . . expresses that sense of Aeneas as not only advanced in years but also worn out by his suffering.” But to search for an interpretation of the word that will not be in conflict with the myth is to ignore the dramatic situation of a man being shown the son he will have in old age. Aeneas does not know Jupiter’s prophecy, or his own

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terms of a secondary meaning of a word or phrase, or a strained interpretation of a word or two, but still are basically deceptive. Jupiter's prophecy suggests that in the underworld Aeneas is being deceived.

This variation of the pattern of omissions of deaths from prophecies differs from most others, in two respects. First, to judge from Jupiter's prophecy, the future that is concealed from Aeneas is not all bad: Jupiter tells Venus that after three years she will carry Aeneas up to heaven, for the deification described more fully in other versions of the myth (*sublimemque feret ad sidera caeli/ magnanimum Aenean* 1.259–60, "you will carry great-hearted Aeneas aloft to the stars of heaven"). Aeneas will not have a long life, but he will become a god. The second difference complicates the first: this prophecy is not shown to be false by events described in the narrative, like the prophecies discussed in chapter 1. Rather it is contradicted by another prophecy, which looks beyond the poem, as Creusa's prophecy to Aeneas of *res laetae* does. If many prophecies deceive, which ones accurately and unambiguously predict the future? Can one be "proven" false by another? In talking about the end of Aeneas' life, there is no solid ground on which to stand. Clearly, though, the reader who hears Anchises predict a long life for Aeneas is meant at least to recall that Jupiter has declared that he will live only three more years. The pattern of the omission of a death from a prophecy is discernible, but is less sharply drawn.

THE CURSE OF DIDO

Anchises' words about Silvius are also in conflict with Dido's curse of Aeneas, which is less distant from Book 6 than Jupiter's prophecy, and is also subtly evoked during Aeneas' trip

myth: he is told that he will be long-lived. If the prophecy is not a lie, it is at least deceptive.

Tiresias tells Odysseus in the underworld that he will die in old age: cf. *Od.* 11.134–37, where γῆρα ὑπο λυπαρῶ ἀρημένον (136) = *longaevus* at *Aen.* 6.764. This alone means that *longaevus* cannot mean "immortal" or "world-weary."

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to the underworld. Before Dido kills herself at the end of Book 4, she curses Aeneas and the Romans. The climax of the curse accurately predicts third and second century B.C. Roman history, calling for enmity between the Romans and Carthaginians, and for vengeance in the person of Hannibal:

tum vos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum
 exercete odiis, cinerique haec mittite nostro
 munera. nullus amor populis nec foedera sunt.
 exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor
 qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos,
 nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires.
 litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
 imprecor, arma armis: pugnent ipsique nepotesque.
 (4.622–29)

(Then you, O Tyrians, indulge your hatred on his stock and the whole future race, and perform these services for my ashes. Let there be no love or treaties between our peoples. And you, arise, some avenger, from my bones to pursue the Dardanian settlers with torch and sword, now, or later, whenever the strength presents itself. I pray for shore opposed to shore, waters to waves, arms to arms: let them fight and their descendants too.)

The implication is clear that this part of the curse will be—indeed, for the reader has been—fulfilled to the letter: the carefully chosen words do not ask for an impossible Hannibalic victory over the Romans, but for hatred, repeated warfare, and attack or pursuit (*sequare* 626).

The earlier part of the curse is more difficult to interpret. Dido curses Aeneas, praying that if he is fated to reach Italy, he may suffer there, fall before his time, and go unburied. Like Jupiter's prophecy, the curse is inconsistent with the old age that Anchises predicts for Aeneas, but it is also inconsistent with the spirit, if not the "facts," of the prophecy. Dido's words:

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si tangere portus
infandum caput ac terris adnare necesse est,
et sic fata Iovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret,
at bello audacis populi vexatus et armis,
finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli
auxilium imploret videatque indigna suorum
funera; nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquae
tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur,
sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena.
(4.612–20)

(If this unspeakable one must reach the harbor and float to land, and the fates of Jupiter demand that this must be the outcome, still let him be harried in warfare by a bold people, and exiled from his land, and torn from the embrace of Iulus let him beg for help and see the undeserved burials of his men; nor when he's given himself over to the laws of an unequal peace, let him enjoy the reign or life he's hoped for, but let him fall before his day, unburied in the middle of the sand.)

Jupiter prophesies that Aeneas' life will end soon, but stresses positive elements: he will accomplish his mission and then be taken up to heaven. Dido's curse is dark and negative: she asks for an early death for Aeneas, but also that his remaining time be frustrating and painful, and that his successes be qualified and unsatisfying.¹³ Dido wishes for Aeneas "a whole catalogue of the evils that have befallen her since the death of Sychaeus: helplessness and isolation, the loss of the person most loved, and premature death after a humiliating alliance."¹⁴ She prays for Aeneas' fate to be like that of Palinurus, who reaches Italy and then immediately is killed, in fulfillment of the letter of the prophecy of Apollo, who predicted he would reach the

¹³ Murgia (1987) 53–54 uses the words "positive side" and "negative side" to refer to Jupiter's prophecy and Dido's curse.

¹⁴ Rabel (1985) 324; cf. Monti (1981) 60.

fines of Italy unharmed (6.345–46). The use of the word *fines* there may be compared with Dido's concession that Aeneas may be fated to reach the *portus*. In Book 5, Venus asks Neptune to let Aeneas reach the Tiber (*liceat dare tuta per undas/ vela tibi, liceat Laurentem attingere Thybrim* 5.796–97, "please let him sail safely through the waves, let him reach Laurentian Tiber"), and Neptune says that he will reach the *portus* of Avernus safely (*tutus, quos optas, portus accedit Avernus* 5.813, "he will safely come to the harbor of Avernus, as you desire"). In Book 9, Turnus responds to Cybele's omens by saying that the prophecies about the Trojans are fulfilled by their simply reaching Italy alive (9.135–36); both the parallel of Palinurus and the prophecy of Jupiter in Book 1 suggest that Turnus' words are close to the truth, and not just "sophistry." Dido prays for Aeneas not to enjoy the life he has hoped for: *nec . . . optata luce fruatur*. She wishes for his fate to be like that of so many characters in the poem—Dido herself, Evander, the Trojans after the apparent departure of the Greeks, Nisus and Euryalus, Latinus, Turnus, and others—who find hope or confident expectation leading to disappointment and sorrow. Aeneas' expectations are repeatedly frustrated by the deaths of those around him that have been omitted from optimistic prophecies: the curse of Dido suggests that, beyond the poem, his fate will be like theirs—that his death has been omitted from a deceptive prophecy, and that he will go unburied. "To die in one's prime and to die unburied—these were the most dreadful things that a man could suffer in ancient times."¹⁵

How are Dido's ominous curse and Jupiter's reassuring prophecy to be reconciled? One recent treatment suggests that "prophecies and curses in epic always come true, though not necessarily as the speaker or hearer understood them," and so Dido's apparently dire curse is to be corrected by reference to Jupiter's prophecy: "what at first seems like a dread curse . . . turns out instead to be a prophecy that he will enjoy in heaven

¹⁵ Austin (1955) *ad* 4.620.

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the happiness of an immortal.”¹⁶ But how can one be sure that Jupiter’s prophecy will come true as the hearer (Venus) understands it? Certainty concerning events beyond the poem is unattainable, and it may be a better critical procedure to supplement Jupiter’s optimistic prophecy with the negative aspects of Dido’s curse, or to juxtapose them as two basically compatible but significantly differing versions of Aeneas’ future, neither of which should be hastily given greater credence than the other. There is no reason to assume that Jupiter’s prophecy gives a clear and unambiguous picture of the future, stamped with the poet’s approval and authority. In his attempt to answer Venus’ complaints about what has been happening to Aeneas, Jupiter may well be suppressing negative aspects of Aeneas’ future, just as Creusa’s prophecy to Aeneas in Book 2 does. (The next chapter will look at the potential ambiguity of Jupiter’s speech in some detail.)

Conversely, the suggestion that curses, like prophecies, often come true in surprisingly harmless ways is not well supported. Both the direct literary antecedents of Dido’s curse, and most curses in ancient mythical narratives, are fulfilled with a far greater degree of precision than are prophecies. Dido’s curse recalls Polyphemus’ curse of Odysseus in the *Odyssey*; Polyphemus asks that if Odysseus is fated to return home (compare Dido’s *si tangere portus . . .*), he may come late, lose all his companions, and find trouble at home, and each of these conditions is fulfilled to the letter.¹⁷ Dido in many ways is also modeled on the Ariadne of Catullus 64, not least in her use of the curse; Ariadne’s curse of Theseus in that poem is quickly fulfilled, with no mitigation, by the suicide of

¹⁶ Murgia (1987) 54; he notes also Jupiter’s statement to Juno that Aeneas is “owed to heaven” (*deberi caelo fatisque ad sidera tolli* 12.795). See the upcoming section on Aeneas and Juturna.

¹⁷ See *Od.* 9.528–35. Moskalew (1982) 157–58 says, “the allusion to the Homeric scene suggests that [Dido’s curse] will be accomplished no less than the curse of Polyphemus,” and is responsible for Aeneas’ troubles in the last half of the poem, as the curse of Polyphemus is in part responsible for Odysseus’ suffering.

Theseus' father Aegeus.¹⁸ Curses in ancient narratives generally come true; this seems especially clear when the curse is made by an abandoned lover about to commit suicide, like Dido, or the Euopis or Phyllis whose stories are told by Parthenius and Apollodorus.¹⁹ The efficacy of these curses resembles the accuracy of deathbed prophecies, and often the suicide is motivated by the desire to curse someone.²⁰ In real life, curse tablets were placed near the grave of someone who, like Dido, died *ante diem* (4.697), because the souls of such persons were thought to have a special power to fulfill curses.²¹ In Homer the curses of Phoenix by his father and Meleager by his mother are of some importance; in tragedy the curse of Thyestes against Atreus and his house motivates the rest of the legend, and the curse Euripides' Theseus calls down on Hippolytus is immediately fulfilled. In the *Oedipus Coloneus*, Oedipus curses his sons before his death, and the mythical tradition makes it clear that this curse, which may be compared with Dido's, will be fulfilled after the end of the play. Before his suicide, Sophocles' Ajax prays for Agamemnon and Menelaos to be killed by their own offspring; this does not happen in the tradition, so ancient and modern editors have questioned the line. Greek and Roman historical traditions preserve similar stories. The battle of Leuctra, which ended Spartan hegemony in 371 B.C., was fought on the spot where

¹⁸ See Cat. 64.188–201 and cf. Oksala (1962) 189–90, Heinze (1957) 136n.2 (next note), and Clausen (1987) 53.

¹⁹ Parthenius 31; Apollod. *Epit.* 6.16. Heinze (1957) 136n.2 cites Ariadne, Euopis, and Phyllis and says, "Diese Verwünschungen der Sterbenden gehen stets in Erfüllung: so auch hier: für der Leser, der dies teils weiss, teils ahnt, wird Didos Tod dadurch zum wichtigen Faktor in der Geschichte nicht nur des Aeneas, sondern des römischen Reiches."

Parthenius 27 also preserves a story of an effective curse from the *Arae* of the Hellenistic poet Moero.

²⁰ For the assumed reliability of deathbed prophecies, see Pease (1963) 206–7; add the Egyptian "Oracle of the Potter" (Koenen [1968] 178ff., esp. 183). For the curse and suicide as the "weapon of the weak" and a means of revenge, see DelCourt (1939) 154–71.

²¹ See, e.g., Jordan (1985) 152.

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local girls were said to have killed themselves after cursing the Spartans who had raped them: here historical consequences comparable to the Punic Wars are attributed to a curse and suicide. Hannibal is said to have cursed his host Prusias before killing himself; Prusias died within a year or two. Velleius Paterculus reports that Cinna died three years after the flamen Dialis L. Cornelius Merula cursed him before committing suicide, as Cinna was taking the city of Rome in 87 B.C. Crassus was cursed before setting out against the Parthians in 55 B.C.; when he was killed, those who had cursed him were criticized for harming the state. With few exceptions, curses persist in historical or mythological traditions only when they seem to have come true. A curse in an ancient narrative is expected to be fulfilled.²²

Vergil works within this tradition of effective curses, yet

²² Phoenix: *Il.* 9.453–57; Meleager: *Il.* 9.565–72; Thyestes: Aesch. *Ag.* 1565, Enn. *Thy. fr.* CL Jocelyn, Hor. *Epod.* 5.86; Theseus: *Hipp.* 887ff.; Oedipus: *OC* 421–27, 1370–79 (see Kamerbeek [1984] *ad* 1375–79; the curse is also prominent in the *Septem*); Ajax: *Ajax* 841–42 (Kamerbeek [1953] *ad loc.*: “the poet can hardly make Ajax wish something that is in flat contradiction with what according to tradition has actually happened”); maidens of Leuctra (in some versions their father utters the curse before killing himself): Diod. 15.54, Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.7, Plut. *Pelop.* 20.3–4 (288E) and *Amat. Narr.* 3 (*Mor.* 773–74), Paus. 9.13.3; Hannibal: Livy 39.51; Merula: Vell. Pater. 2.22; Crassus: Dio 39.39, Plut. *Crass.* 16.5–6 (553A) (“the Romans say that these mysterious and ancient curses have such power that no one involved in them ever escapes” [Perrin trans.]), App. *BC* 2.18, Cic. *De Div.* 1.16. Much of this is in Lasaulx (1854) 159–77.

Aesch. *Prom.* 914ff. mentions the curse of Zeus by Cronos, which could be avoided (see Griffith [1983] 248–49). At Tac. *Ann.* 6.24, Drusus curses the emperor Tiberius before his death, to no effect. Latin elegy presents formal curses not expected to be fulfilled; see Tib. 1.5.49–56 and further references in K. F. Smith (1913) *ad loc.*; they and poems like Ovid’s *Ibis* and the pseudo-Vergilian *Dirae*, where the poet curses an addressee, are different from stories in which one mythological character curses another. In the *Aeneid*, however, Celaeno’s prediction that the Trojans will have to eat their tables (chap. 1, Anchises section) is like a curse that is fulfilled harmlessly.

Vergil’s use of a curse is similar to the Alexandrian poets’ use of prophecies to look beyond the small portion that they were relating of a longer story; see Heinze (1957) 395 and n.2, and Deubner (1921) 368–70.

Dido's curse is still difficult to interpret. Vergil will not make it clear whether Aeneas' death will precisely fulfill Dido's curse. The other provisions of Dido's curse seem to come true during the course of the poem, but only with a kind of slight mitigation not present in the curses mentioned above. Aeneas must fight a war against a bold people (*bello audacis populi vexatus et armis* 4.615); the word *audax* will often be applied to Turnus.²³ As an exile, Aeneas must leave Iulus behind and travel up the Tiber to ask Greeks and Etruscans for help (*finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli/ auxilium imploret*, 616–17), but it is significant that “the color of 616 . . . suggests circumstances more dire than those of Book 8.”²⁴ Aeneas must see the bitter deaths and funerals of many of his men (*videatque indigna suorum/ funera*, 617–18); the death of Pallas will be a central event in Books 7–12, and the depiction of the funeral rites at 11.182–202 is particularly grim and moving.²⁵ At the end of the fighting, Aeneas will agree to a *pax iniqua* that will efface the Trojan name and allow the Italian contribution to Rome to predominate, though Dido's words *se tradiderit* (“has handed himself over”) would suggest surrender more than a limited or generous victory. After Dido prays for Aeneas to fall before his time and go unburied, she calls for the rise of Hannibal and the Carthaginian wars, in a section of the curse clearly to be fulfilled.²⁶

Vergil's details do not add up to allow us to draw conclusions; they interact to make suggestions. When the reader hears Anchises tell Aeneas in Book 6 that he will have a son in old age, he has heard the prophecy of Jupiter in Book 1 and the curse of Dido in Book 4. These carry a clear suggestion—one cannot speak of proof—that the prediction of a long life

²³ Clausen (1987) 84–85.

²⁴ Murgia (1987) 53.

²⁵ Cf. also 6.163–64, where Aeneas' trumpeter Misenus is described as *indigna morte peremptum*.

²⁶ The correspondences between curse and outcome are explained by commentators (though not always exactly as here); see also Rabel (1985) 317–25, Tupet (1976) 239–66, and next note.

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for Aeneas is a deception. Exactly what kind of future this deception conceals is not made clear. The regular fulfillment of curses in ancient narratives, and the pattern of omissions of deaths from optimistic prophecies in the *Aeneid*, suggest that it may be the grim horror called for by Dido's curse. But the apotheosis promised by Jupiter to Venus as a reward for Aeneas' toils, with no mention of a difficult death, would fit the slight mitigation of some aspects of Dido's curse in Books 7–12, and the careful wording of the curse: Dido asks that he *cadat*, “fall,” instead of “die,” and that he be *inhumatus*, “unburied,” not that he be, for instance, “prey to birds and beasts.”²⁷ The wording could even point to some combination of these two alternatives: a grim death followed by apotheosis, as in the case of Julius Caesar.²⁸ Anchises' prophecy deceives, but it is unclear how much. It will not do to compile evidence for or weigh the authority of each version, to choose the one Vergil “really” meant. The glimpses of Aeneas' future that Vergil provides in Books 1, 4, and 6 interact to create a series of impressions about what reward awaits Aeneas after all his toils, and about Aeneas' perceptions about the *res laetae* to come.

Dido in the Underworld

Aeneas meets with Dido in the underworld at 6.450–76. Three hundred lines before Anchises' reference to long life for Aeneas, this meeting both reminds us of Dido's implacable hatred of Aeneas, and links Dido's undying hostility to that of Juno, through an allusion to the temple of Juno at Carthage. In Book 4, Dido had warned Aeneas that her spirit would seek vengeance from him:

²⁷ Murgia (1987) 53. Pease (1935) 485 says that Dido's curse “is more terrible in anticipation than in its fulfillment”; Lyne (1987) 131 says that Aeneas' toils are “a great deal easier than Dido wished or prayed.”

²⁸ MacKay (1963) 159 suggests that Aeneas' founding of “a new order that he will not live to enjoy” makes him more like Julius than Augustus.

AENEAS

sequar atris ignibus absens
et, cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus,
omnibus umbra locis adero. dabis, improbe, poenas.
(4.384–86)

(Though gone I shall pursue you with dark flames, and when the chill of death has drawn my spirit from my limbs, as a shade I shall be everywhere. You will pay for the wrong you have done.)

In the underworld, when Dido rejects Aeneas' attempts to speak to her, Vergil virtually repeats the line used in Book 1 to describe the depiction on the temple murals of Athena's rejection of the Trojan gifts: 6.469, *illa solo fixos oculos avera tenebat* ("she, turned away, held her eyes fixed on the ground"), recalls 1.482, *diva solo fixos oculos avera tenebat* ("the goddess . . ."). Scholars have noted that Vergil seems to link Athena and Dido here, but suggestions as to his motivation for doing so have been unimpressive.²⁹ I argued in chapter 1 that Athena's implacability in Book 1 is linked by Vergil to Juno's. The repetition of 1.482 at 6.469 links Dido's undying hostility not simply to that of Athena but to the implacability of Juno. Both the hatred of Juno and the curse of Dido pursue Aeneas in the second half of the poem; indeed "Dido's curse parallels and implements the wrath of Juno."³⁰

Turnus' *devotio*

The death of Turnus may help to implement both the wrath of Juno and the curse of Dido. In chapter 2 I noted that Vergil

²⁹ Christmann (1976) 268–69 and Moskalaw (1982) 159 offer suggestions about the repetition, but the skepticism of Kraggerud (1985) 229 is understandable. Cf. also Muecke (1984) 105–12.

³⁰ Moskalaw (1984) 159. In Books 7–12 Vergil often recalls Dido through repetition of vocabulary, scene patterns, or motifs, or even more overtly as when Aeneas covers Pallas with a cloak given to him by Dido (11.72–75). See Moskalaw (1982) 159–62, Monti (1981) 84–96, Hunt (1973) 83–98, R. D. Williams (1973) 499, Newman (1986) 158–82, and Lyne (1987) 136–37.

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colors Turnus' death with suggestions of the Roman rite of *devotio*, in connection with the agreement of Jupiter and Juno about the preservation of the Latin name and customs. The *devotio* motif may also make suggestions about the fate of Aeneas, because the actual killers of a man who had devoted himself generally faced grave consequences.³¹ When Livy describes the *devotio* of the younger Decius, he says that the Gauls, and Decius' killers in particular, were dazed, and that the battle then turned:

Galli et maxime globus circumstans consulis corpus velut alienata mente vana in cassum iactare tela; torpere quidam et nec pugnae meminisse nec fugae. (Livy 10.29.2)

(The Gauls, especially the throng standing around the body of the consul, as though gone mad threw their weapons at random and in vain; some were in a daze, and remembered neither battle nor flight.)

Most of the Gauls are killed. In the *Aeneid*, there would be an attractive symmetry in the notion that Aeneas will die early because of Dido's curse from the first half of the poem, and Turnus' *devotio* from the second.³²

BURIAL AND IMMORTALITY

Vergil offers suggestions about not only the timing, but also the manner of Aeneas' death. Dido wishes for Aeneas not

³¹ Cf. references in chap. 2, nn.47-49, esp. Burkert (1979) 59-64. No one, to my knowledge, has connected the *Aeneid*'s *devotio* motif with Aeneas.

³² Other possible reminders in the *Aeneid* of Aeneas' traditional early death or end are discussed by Christmann (1976) and Kepple (1976). Two further factors: the implacability of Juno stressed by the repetition of words from her orders when they are fulfilled (above chap. 2, n.1), and the Homeric model of the "ritual antagonism" between hero and god, for which, see Nagy (1979) 118-50.

The speech of Diomedes at *Aen.* 11.252-78 stresses delayed divine vengeance visited upon the victorious Greeks after the Trojan War, and his own suffering because of his wounding of Venus (275-78).

merely to die before his time—as she herself will—, but to be unburied: *cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena* (4.620, “let him fall before his day, unburied in the middle of the sand”). Dido’s curse calls for Aeneas to be “included in an almost obsessively recurrent series of images [in the *Aeneid*] of disgraceful and nameless death.”³³ The Roman reader’s reaction to this final clause of Dido’s curse of Aeneas will have been affected by the curse’s evocation of the traditional story about Aeneas’ end. The core of the myth about Aeneas’ death is that after a battle next to the Numicus River, Aeneas was nowhere to be found. Variations on the myth say that he fell into the river and died during or after the battle, or that he was taken up to heaven, or that he was taken to heaven after dying or being purified in the Numicus. Some reports say that his body was found in the river, but most claim that it was never recovered. After his disappearance, Aeneas was worshipped as *Deus Indiges* or a variation on that name, and sources tell us of features of his cult that survive to Augustan or later times. Dionysius of Halicarnassus seems to have seen Aeneas’ *heroon* on the Numicus. Each year the consuls and pontiffs made sacrifice at the temple by the river, which Ascanius was said to have dedicated to his father who vanished there. Because Aeneas disappeared in it, the Numicus itself was said to be sacred, and only its water could be used for libation to Vesta. Despite the variation in details, the tradition is unanimous in reporting an early death or disappearance for Aeneas associated with the Numicus. Whenever these traditions mention how long Aeneas lived in Italy, it is only for three to eight years. When Vergil has Jupiter say that Aeneas will live only three more years, he chooses the shortest reign in Latium that the tradition preserves.³⁴

³³ Parry (1966) 117.

³⁴ Sources on Aeneas’ end in Pease (1935) *ad Aen.* 4.620 and Christmann (1976) 263n.32. A sampling: Livy 1.2.6; [Aur. Vict.] *Orig.* 14.2–3; D. H. 1.64.4–5, Ovid *Met.* 14.581–608, Tib. 2.5.43–44 (*illic sanctus eris cum te veneranda Numici/ unda deum caelo miserit indigetem*); CIL X, 8348 (*[regnavit an]nos tris in/ [bel]lo Lauren[tin]o non con/[pa]ruit appel[latusq]est indigen[s] / [pa]ter et in*

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Servius thinks of Aeneas' death on two of the three occasions that the Numicus is mentioned in the poem, perhaps as an American will think of death at the mention of "Ford's Theater," but Vergil never says or clearly suggests that Aeneas will die in the Numicus. He seems, however, to allude to this feature of the myth about Aeneas' death, somewhat in the way that learned Alexandrian poets alluded to versions of a myth other than the one they happen to be telling.³⁵ Twice Vergil suggests that sacrificial victims are dying in the waves in place of Aeneas—sacrificial victims already linked to the theme of death and the optimistic prophecy.

de[orum n]umero relatus); Serv. ad 4.620 (citing Cato: Mezentius was defeated in battle by Aeneas, *qui tamen . . . in ipso proelio non comparuit. . . alii dicunt quod victor Aeneas cum sacrificaret super Numicum fluvium lapsus est et eius nec cadaver inventum est*); Serv. Auct. ad 1.259 (in Numicum fluvium cecidit, ut vero Ovidius refert, in caelum raptus est, cuius corpus cum post victis a se Rutulis et Mezentio, Ascanius requisitum non invenisset in deorum numerum credidit relatum); Serv. ad 7.150 (body found in Numicus) and 7.797; Serv. Auct. ad 7.797 and 12.794; Schol. Veron. ad 1.259; and Juvenal 11.63 (can refer allusively to Aeneas and Hercules: *alter aquis, alter flammis ad sidera missus*).

Names for Aeneas: *Iuppiter Indiges, Pater Indiges, Indiges, Aeneas Indiges, Deus Indiges*; sources in Christmann (1976) 262n.30; see Alföldi (1965) 251–65, Galinsky (1969) 149. Cf. *indigetem Aenean* at Aen. 12.794.

On the heroon, cf. D. H. 1.64.5, Christmann (1976) 262n.28, Sommella (1974) 287–97, Weinstock (1960) 117, Galinsky (1976) 2–11.

On Ascanius' temple, Schol. Veron. ad Aen. 1.259: *Ascanius hostibus devictus in loco, quo [postremo pater] apparuerat, Aeneae Indigeti templum dicavit, ad quod pontifices quotannis cum consulibus [ire solent sacri]ficaturi*. The word *apparuerat* refers to Ascanius' claim to have seen his deified father; cf. [Aur. Vict.] Orig. 14.2–3. On the rite, see Alföldi (1965) 256 and Christmann (1976) 262n.29 with references.

On the waters of the Numicus, Serv. ad 7.150: *HAEC FONTIS STAGNA NUMICI . . . Numicus ingens ante fluvius fuit, in quo repertum est cadaver Aeneae et consecratum. post paulatim decrescens in fontem redactus est, qui et ipse siccatus est sacris interceptus: Vestae enim libari non nisi de hoc fluvio licebat*. Cf. Serv. ad 7.797 and see Alföldi (1965) 257 and n.5 with references.

For the length of Aeneas' reign, see also Serv. Auct. ad 1.265 and Horsfall (1974) 112, with list of various reported lengths of Aeneas' life in Italy. Horsfall (1986) 9 says that the tradition that "when Aeneas meets his end in Latium, he does so at the river Numicus" is one of "those elements of the story that do not vary."

³⁵ Cf. Ross (1975) 62 and Lyne (1978) ad Ciris 54–91 (p. 125).

The first victim is Orontes. Before she has Aeolus raise the storm that strikes Aeneas' ships, Juno cites the example of Athena, who was able to kill an enemy by wrecking his ship (1.39–45). In Aeneas' well-known first speech, he laments the fate apparently in store for him, and envies those who died at Troy, where *tot Simois correpta sub undis/ scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit* (1.100–101, "Simois snatched and rolled beneath its waves so many men's shields and helmets and strong bodies"). This speech recalls two scenes in Homer: one in the *Odyssey*, in which Odysseus laments the horrors of dying at sea, and one in the *Iliad*, in which Achilles uses the same words as Odysseus to describe the horrible fate of being drowned in a river.³⁶ The Roman reader might well connect Aeneas' wish with his traditional death in the Numicus.³⁷ In the storm in Book 1, Aeneas does not die, as Orontes is the sacrificial victim who dies near the rocks called "Altars," (a name discussed in chapter 1). This is why Vergil took pains to stress the name. Soon after Orontes' death, at 1.220, and later in Book 6, Aeneas will pity Orontes' fate and lack of burial.³⁸

The second to die at sea in place of Aeneas is Palinurus; the description of his death carries more suggestions of the tradi-

³⁶ Cf. *Od.* 5.299–312, when the storm hits Odysseus' ship, and *Il.* 21.273–83, where Achilles fears a miserable death in the Scamander/Xanthus, and see Heinze (1957) 487–88, Pöschl (1962) 34–36 = (1977) 35–37, Christmann (1976) 272. Both Odysseus (5.312) and Achilles (21.281) say νῦν δέ με λευγαλέω θανάτῳ εἴμαρτο ἄλῶναι.

³⁷ Christmann (1976) 272. Servius saw an allusion to Aeneas' traditional death in the Numicus in the Sibyl's words at 6.88–89: *NON SIMOIS TIBI NEC XANTHUS Tiberis et Numicus, in quem cecidit*. The Xanthus is linked to the Tiber by the wordplay *Tiberinus . . . flavus* (7.30–31) = ξανθός; see also 9.816 *cum gurgite flavo* and Norden (1957) *ad* 6.88 and Christmann (1976) 272; the pun was popular with the Augustans, e.g., Ovid *Met.* 2.245: *Xanthus flavusque Lycormas*; Prop. 2.9.12: *flavis in Simoente vadis*, with the note of Enk (1962).

³⁸ Lack of burial is also a feature of the Oilean Ajax exemplum cited by Juno at *Aen.* 1.39–45. Christmann quotes Tib. Claudius Donatus *ad loc.*: *idcirco eum infixum scopulo, ne delatus fortassis ad litus sepulturae saltem beneficium reperiret*.

Henry (1873–92) vol. 1, 327–31 gives references for ancient horror of death at sea or without burial; see also Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) on Hor. *Carm.* 1.28.23, and Brenk (1984) 188–96, who stresses civil war deaths at sea.

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tional death of Aeneas. In Book 5, Venus tells Neptune that she is worried about Aeneas, and asks that he may have safe passage to Italy (5.779–98). Neptune reminds her that once before, when Achilles was clogging the Xanthus River with the bodies of his victims, he had saved Aeneas from this kind of death (800–811). Vergil is conflating Homer here, for the rescue of Aeneas took place at *Iliad* 20.318–52, and the clogging of the Xanthus in Book 21 (near the scene mentioned above in which Achilles laments the horrors of drowning). Vergil has taken pains to associate Aeneas with dead bodies in a river.³⁹ Neptune says that now again he will save him (*nunc quoque mens eadem perstat mihi; pelle timores* 812, “Now too my attitude remains the same; do not be afraid”). The implication of Venus’ plea and Neptune’s response is that Aeneas is again in danger of death by water. Neptune assures him safe passage, but there must be a price:

tutus, quos optas, portus accedet Avernī.
unus erit tantum amissum quem gurgite quaeres;
unum pro multis dabitur caput. (5.813–815)

(He will safely reach the harbor of Avernus, as you wish.
There will only be one you seek lost in the waves; one life
will be given for many.)

The message is reassuring, for it means that only Palinurus will die, but the language oddly calls to mind Aeneas’ disappearance and apotheosis. I have noted that Dido concedes that Aeneas may be fated to reach the *portus*, and that Neptune in 813 tells Venus that Aeneas “will reach the *portus*, as you wish,” even though Venus had asked something slightly different. Then line 814 begins with words that would probably remind any Roman schoolboy of a line that he had learned

³⁹ Cf. Christmann (1976) 278. Conington (1963) *ad* 5.803 notes the discrepancy, but tries to minimize it, as though getting Homer right were more important to Vergil than development of his own themes. See Thomas (1982) 76–77, who in discussing Vergil’s misstatements about some technical matters in the *Georgics*, says we should “consider the poetic function of such ‘errors.’”

about the apotheosis of Romulus: *unus erit . . . quem* ("there will be one whom") suggests a line of Ennius: *unus erit quem tu tolles in caerula caeli/ templa* ("there will be one whom you will raise to the blue precincts of heaven").⁴⁰ After this vague suggestion of apotheosis, Vergil's line 814 also calls to mind the more unpleasant aspects of Aeneas' traditional death, for *amissum . . . gurgite* ("lost in the waters") precisely fits his disappearance in the Numicus. After Palinurus' fall from the ship, Vergil again stresses the idea of death without burial as Aeneas' ship sails past the rocks where the Sirens' call used to draw men to a horrible end (*scopulos Sirenum . . . / difficilis quondam multorumque ossibus albos* 864–65, "the Sirens' rocks, once hard to pass, and white with many men's bones").⁴¹ Right after this mention of unburied white bones, Aeneas laments Palinurus' death, in words reminiscent of Dido's curse: 5.871, *nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena* ("you will lie, Palinurus, uncovered on unknown sand") resembles 4.620, *mediaque inhumatus harena* ("unburied in the middle of the sand"). In chapter 1 I discussed some of the sacrificial aspects of the deaths of Orontes and Palinurus; more precisely, they die as substitutes for Aeneas. The Palinurus episode "is a prophetic foreshadowing of the adventures of Aeneas, who . . . attains his goal, Hesperia, but does not live to enjoy it."⁴² By

⁴⁰ Enn. *Ann.* 54–55S = 64–65V, from Varro *De Ling. Lat.* 7.5; on the attribution to Ennius cf. Skutsch (1985) *ad loc.* and Feeney (1984) 185–86. That the line was famous enough for even a subtle allusion to it by Vergil is suggested by Ovid's play at *Met.* 14.812–15, where Mars is talking to Jupiter about Romulus:

tu mihi concilio quondam praesente deorum
(nam memoro memorique animo pia verba notavi)
'unus erit, quem tu tolles in caerula caeli.'
dixisti: rata sit verborum summa tuorum!

Ovid playfully puts Mars in the position of a Roman who once had to memorize the line as a schoolboy; cf. Feeney (1984) 186 and Conte (1986) 57–59. Ovid also uses the line at *Fasti* 2.487.

⁴¹ Raabe (1974) 78; his 71–83 catalogues the motifs of death at sea or death in a river, with comparisons to Homer and to other Latin epics.

⁴² E. M. Bradley *apud* Zarker (1966–67) 220n.3; cf. Christmann (1976) 278–79.

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sacrifice or substitution, the deaths of Palinurus and Orontes forestall the death of Aeneas; each man's death, both in its manner and in its omission from an optimistic prophecy, may also foreshadow that of Aeneas.

The associations of Orontes and Palinurus with Aeneas, and of Aeneas with the unburied dead are further developed in the underworld, not long before Anchises predicts long life for Aeneas. Many have noted—perhaps none so eloquently as Robert Brooks in his classic article on the Golden Bough—that in going to the underworld, Aeneas is in some way confronting death and the idea of his own death.⁴³ Aeneas also finds a quite specific representation of his own (traditional) death there, as Vergil's details stress the sorrow of the unburied dead. Aeneas asks about the crowd on the near side of the Styx, and the Sibyl tells him that they are the *inops inhumataque turba* (6.325, "the crowd of the resourceless and unburied"), who cannot cross in Charon's boat. Aeneas pities them: *multa putans sortemque animo miseratus iniquam* (332, "pondering at length and pitying in his mind their unfair lot"). Servius thinks of Aeneas' own fate: *bene autem 'animo' quasi re praesaga . . . ipse enim Aeneas insepultus iacebit* ("the word 'mind' is well chosen, as if this were a case of precognition, for Aeneas himself will lie unburied"). Aeneas next sees Orontes and Leucaspis, *maestos et mortis honore carentis* (333, "sad and lacking the rites of the dead"). Then he meets Palinurus, whose major concern is that he lies unburied (*nunc me fluctus habet versantque in litore venti* 362, "now the waves hold me, and the winds roll me on the shore").⁴⁴ Fewer than seventy lines later Aeneas will

⁴³ Brooks (1966) 142–63. The recent attacks on Brooks by Lyne (1987) 217n.1 and West (1987) 6–7 are senseless and puzzling.

⁴⁴ Ambrose (1980) 449–57 argues that in this line *versant . . . venti* represents an etymological play on Palinurus' name (as if from πάλιν and οὐρός). The line would thus describe the essence of his character (for other suggested etymologies cf. Brenk [1984] 777 and n.4). Ambrose discusses some models for Vergil, including Eur. *Hec.* 28–30, the words of the unburied Polydorus; the primary model for Palinurus is Homer's unburied Elpenor. Vergil's own Polydorus (3.41–68) is another abandoned corpse that draws Aeneas' pity.

meet Dido. So in the underworld in which Anchises will predict long life for him, Aeneas sees both the woman who has cursed him to die soon and go unburied, and depictions of the *sors iniqua* of the unburied dead, including two men who seem to have died instead of him. The *Aeneid*'s contradictions about the death of Aeneas cannot be resolved; the uncertainties cannot be eliminated. The suggestions must simply be noted and considered.

The Practice of Alluding to Later Events in Other Ancient Authors

I have mentioned that in the *Oedipus Coloneus*, Oedipus pronounces a curse upon his sons that is expected to be fulfilled after the events of the play. Apollonius of Rhodes, Lucan, and the tradition of philosophical dialogue in which Cicero worked provide more comparative material illustrating how an ancient author can allude, either implicitly or explicitly, to an event to take place after the end of the work. Apollonius alludes not to a death, but to the unpleasant future that awaits one of his characters:

Apollonius of Rhodes makes his Jason, inducing Medea to help him against her own father, tell her about Ariadne, who helped Theseus against her father (3.998ff., 1074ff., 1096ff.); he does not tell her what the poet tells us in case we do not know, that Theseus deserted Ariadne when she had served his turn (4.433ff.). We see events in the light of the ironic parallel: in the same way Jason will abandon Medea when she has made the sacrifice for him, and although this does not actually happen by the end of the poem it casts its shadow over the union of the pair from the beginning.⁴⁵

Orontes bears the name of a river in Syria, but see Fordyce (1977) *ad* 7.532 for other characters in Vergil with names of rivers.

⁴⁵ Griffin (1986) 187–88. Cf. also Duckworth (1933) 33–34, and his whole chapter at 28–36, "The Forecasting of Events Beyond the Epic."

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It should be noted that Apollonius never mentions the abandonment of Medea by Jason.

Lucan has one clear example of Vergil's motif of death and the optimistic prophecy, where the irony is like Vergil's, only more overt. Appius Claudius is told by the Delphic Oracle that he will escape the troubles of war in Euboea (5.194–96). Lucan explicitly—and scornfully: *heu demens* 228—explains that Appius will find peace in Euboea only by dying there. This prophecy too will be fulfilled beyond the end of the poem. For Lucan to be direct and explicit where Vergil is merely suggestive is in keeping with each poet's basic technique.⁴⁶

The imminent death of an important character also casts a shadow over many Greek and Roman philosophical dialogues, whose dramatic date it became conventional to set "shortly before the death of the host or principle interlocutor."⁴⁷ Plato's *Phaedo* is the most obvious example, where Socrates discusses the immortality of the soul shortly before his own death. In Vergil's day, Cicero set two dialogues immediately before the deaths of the speaker featured. He puts the *De Republica* in 129 B.C., the year in which Scipio Africanus the younger is going to die; in the *Somnium Scipionis* that ends the work, the elder Scipio tells the younger that he will soon be chosen dictator for reconstituting the state, "if you escape the impious hands of your relatives." This is a clear reference to Scipio's suspicious death a few days after the date of the dialogue. Cicero sets the *De Oratore* in 91 B.C., a week before the death of Crassus; Cicero points to this through overt comment in his own voice, not by allusion, as in the *De Republica*—though it is possible that he was also more overt in the lost portions of the preface to Book 5 of the *De Republica*.⁴⁸ Cicero's *De Senectute* is also set not long before the death of its

⁴⁶ Cf. Feeney (1986) *passim*, e.g., 17: "Within his underworld picture, Lucan ruthlessly forces Vergil's ambiguities into the open and makes them explicit." On Lucan's prophecies, see Makowski (1977) 193–202.

⁴⁷ Cameron (1967) 258, with further references.

⁴⁸ Cf. *De Rep.* 6.12, *De Orat.* 3.1–2.

principle speaker, the elder Cato; further variations on the practice can be seen in Varro's *Re Rustica*, possibly Tacitus' *Dialogus*, and certainly Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* and Macrobius' *Saturnalia*.⁴⁹

Vergil is not explicit about Aeneas' death, but works with details to create a series of impressions about what awaits him. Jupiter's prophecy in Book 1 and Dido's curse in Book 4 carry the strong suggestion that Aeneas will live three more years, and will die before his time. Dido's curse and other scenes gently remind the reader of the traditional story of the death by drowning that effects Aeneas' apotheosis. Aeneas, by contrast, has been told that he will live long, that after all the toil there will be respite from grief and *labor*, and that happier times—Creusa's *res laetae*—will follow in Hesperia. One of the unimportant characters that Aeneas meets in his rampage after the death of Pallas is Anxur, who thought he would live to be an old man (10. 547–49). Aeneas kills him, cutting off his left arm. Anxur's false expectations represent a common belief in the remoteness of one's own death; for Aeneas this natural belief is reinforced by what he is told about the future. Some have said that tact and pity prevent Anchises in the underworld from telling Aeneas that he will die soon.⁵⁰ Two things make this simple solution inadequate. First, Aeneas is not merely kept in ignorance about his own death, as he is about the death of Anchises, but is flatly deceived into thinking that he will live long. Second, this deception of Aeneas by Anchises is not an isolated incident, but part of a larger pattern of misleading encouragement that Aeneas receives from gods and prophets.

⁴⁹ Cameron (1967) 258–61.

⁵⁰ Cf. Kepple (1976) 360, Christmann (1974) 272–76, Henry (1873–92) vol. 3, 407–8. Evander at 8. 578–82 says that ignorance of future sorrow is best. "Let me die now," he says, *dum curae ambiguae, dum spes incerta futuri* (580). Cic. *De Div.* 2.9.22–24 says that knowledge of how they were going to die would have ruined the lives of Priam, Crassus, Pompey, and Caesar. For ancient references on the subject, see Pease (1963) on this passage.

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The Deification of Aeneas and Juturna

The apotheosis of Aeneas is a prominent feature of his myth and cult, and is stressed at the beginning and end of the *Aeneid*. At 1.259–60, Jupiter reassures Venus:

sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli
magnanimum Aenean.

(You will carry great-hearted Aeneas aloft to the stars of heaven.)

At 12.794–95, he reminds Juno that Aeneas is to be deified:

Aenean scis ipsa et scire fateris
deberi caelo fatisque ad sidera tolli.

(You know and you confess that you know that Aeneas is owed to heaven and fated to be raised to the stars.)

But the *Aeneid* does not insist that deification or immortality is a desirable end, and in fact at a key point suggests that eternal life brings the same kind of suffering that has marked Aeneas' life. Fewer than a hundred lines after Jupiter reminds Juno of Aeneas' fated apotheosis—and fewer than eighty lines before the end of the poem—Vergil shows us Juturna complaining that the sorrows of immortality are poor recompense from Jupiter for the loss of her virginity, because for her there will now be no end to her grief over Turnus:

haec pro virginitate reponit?
quo vitam dedit aeternam? cur mortis adempta est
condicio? possem tantos finire dolores
nunc certe, et misero fratri comes ire per umbras!

AENEAS

immortalis ego? at quicquam mihi dulce meorum⁵¹
 te sine, frater, erit? o quae satis ima dehiscat
 terra mihi, Manisque deam dimittat ad imos?
 (12.878–84)

(Is this his reward for my virginity? Why did he give me eternal life? Why has my mortality been taken away? Now certainly I could end this great suffering, and accompany my poor brother to the shades! I immortal? But what part of my life will be sweet, brother, without you? Oh, what ground will gape open deep enough for me, and send this goddess to the Spirits below?)

Vergil seems to have invented the story that Juturna was a mortal to whom immortality is granted as recompense for rape. That and the important position of Juturna's speech, which "has no narrative justification (beyond that of 'epic retardation'),"⁵² should cause us to consider Vergil's goals here. Juturna criticizes both the justice of Jupiter—so that, indeed, "the god-given destiny of Rome is called powerfully into question as it is uttered"⁵³—and the desirability of the immortality of the gods, for "the gods are more unhappy than mortals because they suffer like them but cannot die."⁵⁴ Specific details make Juturna's complaints about the pain of immortality and her longing for death particularly suggestive for the poem's conception of Aeneas' fate. Juturna is a water-goddess sometimes associated with the River Numicus, and as such,

⁵¹ In 882 I have printed *at* instead of the manuscripts' *aut*, following the conjecture of K. F. Heinrich. See O'Hara (forthcoming *RM*).

⁵² Conte (1986) 158. On Juturna's speech, see the excellent discussion of Barchiesi (1978) 99–121, and my next two notes.

⁵³ Griffin (1986) 130; cf. also Lyne (1987) 86–87 and 139–44.

⁵⁴ Conte (1986) 158; see Barchiesi (1978) 116–19, with citations from Aesch. *Prom.* 99–100 and 754, the translation in Cic. *Tusc.* 2.10.25 of someone's Aesch. *Prom.* *Luom.* (*amore mortis terminum anquirens mali . . . longe a leto numine aspellor Iovis*), [Long.] *De Subl.* 9.7, Phld. *De Piet.*, and Plin. *Nat.* 2.27.

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seems quite like the type of divinity that Aeneas (as *Deus Indiges* of the Numicus) will become as a reward for his toils.⁵⁵ The experience of Juturna parallels what apparently will happen to Aeneas, just as in Apollonius the story of Ariadne parallels what will happen to Medea. The idea that immortals suffer because they must see the deaths of those they love is also found in the passage where Hercules (whose divinity is also like Aeneas' because it was won through toil) cries because he cannot save Pallas. Jupiter attempts to console him, reminding him of the sons of gods who died at Troy, including his own beloved son Sarpedon (10.467–71). Vergil alludes to the scene in *Iliad* 16 where Zeus sheds tears of blood because he cannot save Sarpedon. Both the Homeric and Vergilian scenes stress the sorrows of immortality, in a way that is especially appropriate for making suggestions about the fate of Aeneas, much of whose suffering comes from seeing the suffering and often the death of others. The *Aeneid* perhaps allows the reader to think that the reward of deification makes up for all of Aeneas' pain, and for the deception of him by the gods that contributes to that pain, but the poem does not insist upon that view.⁵⁶

DECEPTION IN THE WORLDS OF AENEAS AND VERGIL

Why is Aeneas deceived about his own fate and about so many other matters? We could say that Aeneas, unlike Turnus, is misled for his own good, because at any given moment a true picture of what lay ahead for him would have crushed his al-

⁵⁵ On Juturna, see Platner and Ashby (1929) s.v. "Lacus Iuturnae," and Roscher vol. 2.1 762–64 (Wissowa). Vergil calls Juturna *deam*, *stagnis quae fluminibusque sonoris/ praesidet* (12.139–40) and has Juno call her *decus fluviorum* (142). For her associations with the Numicus, see Serv. *ad* 12.139 and Wissowa.

⁵⁶ In Cat. 64.50–264 the abandonment of Ariadne by Theseus is followed by the coming of Dionysus (251–64), but the poem does not suggest that this is adequate compensation for her intense suffering.

ready flagging spirits and made him unable to continue. A case for which both ancient and modern scholarly comment along these lines is available is the river-god Tiberinus' lie at 8.40–41, where he tells Aeneas, *tumor omnis et irae/ concessere deum* ("all the passion and angers of the gods have yielded"). One tradition in Servius Auctus *ad* 40 approves of this deception: *nondum concesserunt, sed utiliter dissimulat (sc. Tiberinus)* ("they have not yet yielded, but Tiberinus dissembles, in a useful way"). A modern commentator concurs:

[Tiberinus] is at the moment concealing the truth to encourage Aeneas. Epic tradition sanctioned lies in the mouths of gods and heroes (cf., for example, Athena at *Od.* 1.179ff. and Venus at *A.* 5.794–95.) as well as mere mortals (cf. . . . [8.]10ff.). All the most notable nocturnal apparitions to Aeneas give him advice and encouragement when he is in doubt and despair . . . : in such contexts misrepresentation is permitted and expected.⁵⁷

This is basically accurate, but the implications of this misrepresentation are more interesting than this simple apology acknowledges, and the context of Vergil's characters' lies is not fully explained by a reference to Homer. Many prophecy scenes feature a description of the mood of a recipient of an oracle, who is usually discouraged or disconsolate. Often prophecies in the *Aeneid* seek to urge on someone who is hesitating, encourage someone who is distraught, or calm down someone who is worried. They do this not simply by pointing out positive aspects of the situation that the recipient has forgotten, overlooked, or does not know; they do it by presenting a view of the situation and of the future that is more optimistic and bright than the reality of the situation justifies. That this is "permitted and expected" by epic tradition does not make it devoid of thematic suggestion. It is of considerable importance to recognize that many of the prophecies in

⁵⁷ Eden (1975) *ad* 41.

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the *Aeneid* are basically pieces of rhetoric designed to persuade rather than simply to inform; like the orator, the speaker of a prophecy need not hesitate to deceive, especially when the deception can be cleverly worded, and cannot easily be contradicted.⁵⁸ A study of speeches in the *Aeneid* in general points out that “the speeches of Homer’s (and Vergil’s) characters are not objective statements, but subjective utterances. A man says what he feels, or what he believes at the time, or what he wishes his hearers to believe. . . . It would be feasible to maintain that, in every important speech in the *Aeneid* which is intended to persuade, there is at least one lie.”⁵⁹ So too the content of prophecies in the poem is often determined more by what the speaker wants or needs to hear than by what the truth of the situation is.⁶⁰

More significant than the parallel with oratorical practice is the analogy, alluded to briefly in chapter 1, that can be drawn between deceptive prophecy in the *Aeneid* and the practice of religion in the real Roman world of the first century B.C.⁶¹ The intellectual background for deception in the practice of religion during the period that includes Vergil’s lifetime is well known.⁶² Certain intellectuals—Polybius in the second century and Q. Mucius Scaevola, M. Terentius Varro, Gaius Marcellus, and Cicero in the first—viewed the ability of Ro-

⁵⁸ Heinze (1957) 423nn. 1, 2 cites two apposite texts: Serv. *ad Aen.* 9. 134: *in arte rhetorica tunc nobis conceditur uti mendacio, cum redarguere nullus potest*; Quint. *Inst.* 2. 17.20–21: *orator, cum falso utitur pro vero, scit esse falsum eoque se pro vero uti: non ergo falsam habet ipse opinionem, sed fallit alium. Nec Cicero, cum se tenebras offudisse iudicibus in causa Cluenti gloriatus est, nihil ipse vidit.* Heinze 420–24 has an excellent discussion of clever or deceptive speechmaking in the poem, and of the uses to which Vergil must have seen deceptive rhetoric put in his day. On lies in the *Aeneid*, see Wiesen (1973); on lying and embellishing in oratory and historiography, see Wiseman (1979) 31–40.

⁵⁹ Highet (1972) 285–88 (and cf. 277–90).

⁶⁰ Excellent observations by Mack (1978) 55–67 on how some prophecies are “shaped by the speaker to suit the needs of the recipient” (p. 63).

⁶¹ Cf. chap. 1, Anchises section, and Liebeschuetz (1979) 7–13, 56–57.

⁶² Linderski (1982) 12–38, Momigliano (1984) 199–211. Linderski has extensive references to the ancient sources that I mention in the text.

man religious practices to manipulate politics as the result of deliberate deception of the people by the Roman upper classes. Polybius praised the wisdom of the ancient Romans in introducing fear of the gods to keep the multitude in check, and even Livy attributes such motivations to the early king Numa Pompilius. Scaevola and Varro stressed the difference between the *genus physicon* of religion, whose truths about the world might be harmful to the populace at large, and the *genus civile*, whose admitted falsehoods should be propagated because of their usefulness to the state. Cicero and Marcellus said that religious practices like divination were maintained not out of belief but only *rei publicae causa*. Divination could proclaim that the gods were supporting the actions of the Roman people, or that any displeasure with the Romans on the part of the gods could be easily diagnosed through divination and remedied through the traditional rites. This would effectively help to prevent excessive public discontent, or interference with the efficient governing of the state by the more knowledgeable nobility.⁶³ This use of deception in Vergil's day is parallel to the use of lies or equivocation by the gods and prophets of the *Aeneid*. The parallel should not be pressed too far, however, and it is safer to say that Vergil was subconsciously influenced by this deception and by the discussion of it by intellectuals than to claim that he was deliberately suggesting the kind of analogy that I have drawn. But the element of deception in Roman religion provides one context in which to view and judge the deception of Aeneas and others by prophecies in the *Aeneid*.

Deception and pretense were also important elements of the Roman political scene during Vergil's lifetime. At best, we could say that the Roman adherence to the *mos maiorum* and fear of *res novae* meant that necessary changes in the government in the first century B.C. always needed to be accompanied by clichéd reassurances that the traditional way of doing things was being maintained or restored. At worst, a series of

⁶³ Cf. also Liebeschuetz (1979) 9–13.

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dynasts struggled to increase their own wealth, power, and esteem, but proclaimed that they were serving traditional values, or the neglected needs of the people, or both. Finally, the victory and consolidation of power by Octavian/Augustus was aided not least by his ability to manipulate public opinion and promote public confidence.⁶⁴

The *Aeneid* does seem to have concern for the point of view of the gods who manipulate Aeneas and others for the needs of history. The greatest sympathies of the poet, however, lie with the men whose knowledge of the world is obscured by these deceptions from above, those who, in the analogy with Roman religion, correspond to those deceived by religion and divination in the Roman world.⁶⁵ The deceptions and misleading prophecies help Aeneas to reach his goal and his destiny and to fulfill his mission, but they also increase his suffering and distort his view of the world. The prophecies deepen Aeneas' anguish as his hopes are repeatedly shattered by grimmer reality—thus the greater pain of the deaths of Anchises, Palinurus, and Pallas, and maybe even Dido. They also serve to promote disaster by making Aeneas overconfident at the most inopportune times, such as when he stands beside Juno's temple in Carthage, thinking that his troubles might be over, and that his situation might finally improve (1.451–52).

The optimistic prophecies make Aeneas almost as much an ignorant tool of the gods as Turnus. Aeneas' noble unselfishness may be given much of the credit for his perseverance in

⁶⁴ On pretense in Roman politics, cf. Sall. *Cat.* 38.3: *post illa tempora quicumque rem publicam agitare, honestis nominibus, alii sicuti populi iura defenderent, pars quo senatus auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum simulantes pro sua quisque potentia certabant.*

On the Augustan period, see Syme (1939) *passim*, esp. chap. 11, "Political Catchwords," and chap. 30, "The Organization of Opinion," the latter with caution, because Syme viewed the Augustan poets simply as propagandists for the regime.

⁶⁵ This is not to make the mistake of overestimating Vergil's interest in the *plebs*, for as Linderski (1982) 18n.14, Jocelyn (1966–67) 89–104, and others have stressed, many members of the upper classes believed or half-believed in divination.

the *Aeneid*, but he must be misled repeatedly. Aeneas is told at almost every step that peace and rest from *labor* lie just ahead, when in fact every possibility for happiness for him in this world is sacrificed for the benefit of future generations. I see no other reason for Vergil to have written the Orontes, Palinurus, Helenus, Tiberinus, Anchises, and other scenes in the way in which I have outlined here except to demonstrate that Aeneas' cooperation with divine will is secured by trickery and false promises. Aeneas is told encouraging falsehoods and half-truths by Creusa ("happy times there" 2.783); Helenus ("you will finally be victorious by overcoming Juno with gifts" 3.438-39); Apollo ("Palinurus will reach the shores of Italy unharmed" 6.345-46); and Tiberinus ("all the anger of the gods has yielded" 8.40-41, and "you will be victorious by overcoming Juno with vows" 8.60-61). He is deceived by Cymodocia ("this day will see huge heaps of Rutulian dead" 10.244-45); by his mother, Venus ("you're not hated by immortals . . . for your ships are safe" 1.387, 390; and that the omens in Pallanteum portend not the death of Pallas, but only help from the gods in war, 8.522-36); and by his father, Anchises ("this is Silvius, whom Lavinia will bear to you late, after a long life" 6.760-66). Aeneas, like Turnus, is sacrificed for Rome. He has a vague idea of the Roman future for which he is fighting, but he does not know how much he must pay for it. He is lied to in part, because for him to fulfill his mission he must give up not only all prospects of personal happiness, but ultimately, also his life. When he agrees to leave first Troy, and then Dido, to take up arms again in Italy, and to fight Turnus in single combat, he knows what he is losing or risking. What he does not know is that he will get almost nothing in return, certainly far less than he has been promised.

Even if we find the deception of Aeneas to be benevolent, it seems based on the gods' assumption that he could not face the truth and still persevere. Much has been written about the ignorance of Aeneas concerning the forces that control his world; the deception of Aeneas about the deaths of others, and the implied deception about the reward that awaits him after

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his labors, widen the gap between his knowledge of the world and that of the gods—or the poet. In this respect, comparison of Aeneas with the Homeric Achilles and Odysseus is useful, and is intended. Achilles knows that he has chosen to die young in order to win glory, and he eventually strides heroically toward this death. Odysseus is told in the underworld that he will die in old age: he is the hero who survives.⁶⁶ Aeneas is told in the underworld that he will live to old age, like Odysseus, when apparently he will die soon, like Achilles, whom he resembles in so many aspects, and whom he grows to resemble more and more as the poem draws to a close.⁶⁷ In being deceived, Aeneas is deprived of the heroic stature of an Achilles boldly facing his early death; in this he is also to be contrasted with Turnus.⁶⁸ Aeneas is in some ways like the Heracles of Euripides' *Hercules Furens*: as Fate and Zeus protect Heracles from Hera only until he completes his destined labors,⁶⁹ so the gods help Aeneas to fulfill his crucial role in world history. Beyond that nothing can be done.

⁶⁶ For Achilles' knowledge of his impending death, see *Il.* 1.413–18, 9.410–16, 18.95–126, 19.408–23, 22.358–60, 23.141–51, 24.130–32 (from Moore [1921] 114–16). Tiresias' prophecy to Odysseus that he will die in old age is at *Od.* 11.134–37, where γῆρα ὑπο λιλπαρῶ ἀρημένον (136) = *longaevio* at *Aen.* 6.764.

⁶⁷ Cf., e.g., Anderson (1957) and Lyne (1987) 100–113.

Christmann (1976) 267–68 links the deception of Aeneas by Anchises with the deceptiveness attached to the words of Tiresias (see previous note) by stories of the death of Odysseus in the Epic Cycle.

⁶⁸ And with Mezentius (10.833–908). The death of Mezentius is basically an exception to the pattern of deceptively optimistic prophecies. When Mezentius is about to kill Orodes, Orodes accurately predicts that Mezentius will soon die (10.739–41, cf. *Il.* 16.582ff., 22.359ff.). Mezentius is not frightened at all (742–44). But his death will be more horrible than he could have imagined, because he will have seen his son Lausus die to save him. *Nec vates . . . hos mihi praedixit luctus*, he might have said. Even the worst predictions of the *Aeneid* fall short of the horror of the eventual reality.

On Mezentius, see Gotoff (1984) 191–218.

⁶⁹ *HF* 827–32. Discussion (with references) of possible influence of Eurip. *HF* on Vergil (but not of this point) in Wigodsky (1972) 93–94.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER THREE
INCONSISTENCIES IN PROPHECIES
AND THE “SOLUTION FROM THE
CHARACTER SPEAKING”

Several points of interpretation in this study result from viewing inconsistencies in prophecies not as mistakes by the poet, but as deliberate depictions by Vergil of deceptive or false prophecies. In this chapter I have suggested that Anchises' prophecy of long life to Aeneas may be a deception. Earlier I suggested (tentatively) that Vergil has Helenus tell Aeneas that the Sibyl will explain how to fight the war in Italy, when in fact Anchises will give him this information, to draw attention to Helenus' failure to mention the death of Anchises. Creusa's prophecy of *res laetae* for Aeneas in Italy has been thought to betray lack of revision; this is also how some critics have dealt with Tiberinus' telling Aeneas that all the gods' anger has yielded. Further examples of such inconsistencies will come in the next chapter's discussion of the prophecies of Rome.⁷⁰

This method of interpreting inconsistencies owes something to modern literary criticism, but it is in fact founded on principles discussed in antiquity. The Alexandrian critic Aristarchus seems to be the source of the idea, found in the Homeric scholia and elsewhere, that the πρόσωπον, the character who is speaking or the *persona*, is the source of many inconsistencies in Homer.⁷¹ I have referred to this idea by Porphyrius'

⁷⁰ On Helenus and Tiberinus, see chap. 1, Anchises section; on Creusa chap. 3 *init.* In chap. 4, see esp. the section on Aeneas, Troy, and Rome. As a word of caution I cite Horsfall (1981) for the view that Vergil's sources made inconsistencies inevitable.

⁷¹ Roemer (1924) 223, 253–56; Dachs (1913); Grube (1965) 131–32; and Highet (1972) 285–90.

Roemer and Dachs may make more of this than Aristarchus did, and it is perhaps of less use for reading Homer than for seeing how the ancients may have read him, and what they thought of inconsistencies. This topic is not mentioned by Schlunk (1974), but see Willcock's comment in n.74, below.

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term λύσις ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου (“solution from the character [or ‘*persona*’] speaking”).⁷²

Some ancient sources:

At *Il.* 6.258–62, Hector’s mother Hecuba tells him to drink some wine, because wine gives strength to a tired man. Hector tells her not to offer him wine, lest she weaken him. Schol. A *ad Il.* 6.265 (Aristonicus) notes the apparent contradiction (τὸ δοκοῦν μάχεσθαι), but explains, ἔστι δὲ διάφορα τὰ λέγοντα πρόσωπα (“the characters who speak are different”).⁷³ Porphyrius used this passage to speak at length on the general principle (*Quaest. Hom.* p. 100, 4 Schrader):

οὐδὲν δὲ θαυμαστόν εἰ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ ἐναντία λέγεται ὑπὸ διαφόρων φωνῶν· ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἔφη αὐτὸς καὶ ἅψ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἐξ ἰδίου προσώπου, ταῦτα δεῖ ἀκόλουθα εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις· ὅσα δὲ προσώποις περιτίθησιν, οὐκ αὐτοῦ εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ τῶν λεγόντων νοεῖται.

(It is no cause for wonder if in Homer contradictory things are said by different voices. For whatever things he himself says speaking in his own *persona* (πρόσωπον) must be consistent and not in conflict with one another. But whatever he gives to other characters (πρόσωπα) to say should be thought to be not his own words, but those of the persons speaking.)

The scholia to *Il.* 17.588, where Hector calls Menelaus a soft warrior (μαλθακὸς αἰχμητής), explain that the character of the speaker accounts for the apparent contradiction between this passage and others where Menelaus is said or shown to be a good fighter. Schol. A *ad* 588 (Ariston.) notes that the line has been criticized, but says, τὸ πρόσωπον πολέμιον ὄν εἰς

⁷² See Schrader (1880–82), index s.v. “*solutio* ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου.” Combellack (1987) 202–19 prefaces a discussion of the λύσις ἐκ τῆς λεξέως with a brief description of the Alexandrian practice of proposing questions (ζητήματα) and recording solutions (λύσεις).

⁷³ Cf. Combellack (1987) 204–6.

διαβολὴν λέγει (“the character, who is hostile to Menelaus, speaks slanderously”). Athenaeus 5.178d faults Plato for saying, based on this line, that Menelaus is a soft warrior (*Symp.* 174B), saying οὐ γὰρ εἴ τι λέγεται παρ’ Ὀμήρῳ, τοῦθ’ Ὀμηρος λέγει (“for it is not true that if something is said in Homer, it is Homer who says it”).

At *Od.* 9.107, Odysseus describes the Cyclopes as θεοῖσι πεποιθότες ἀθανάτοισιν, “trusting in the immortal gods.” A scholiast on 106 (Ariston.) asks how this can be reconciled with Polyphemus’ statement that “the Cyclopes do not care about aegis-bearing Zeus” (9.275). The answer: σκοπεῖτω τὸ πρόσωπον, ὅτι Πολυφήμου ἐστὶ τοῦ ὠμοφάγου καὶ θηριώδους (“consider that the character speaking is the flesh-eating, savage Polyphemus”). The other Cyclopes are not as vicious as Polyphemus, the scholiasts say, so one should be careful with what is said about them by either Polyphemus or Odysseus (since his experience is primarily with Polyphemus).

At *Od.* 3.226–28, Telemachus says that he could not defeat the suitors “even if the gods willed it.” Zenodotus emended the line to say “unless the gods willed it,” to make it consistent with Homeric theology, but Schol. *ad* 231 (Ariston.) defends the line, saying, ὑπερβολικῶς τοῦτο εἰρηκεν ἐν ᾧθει (“this is an exaggeration fitting for his character”).⁷⁴

Gilbert Highet has suggested the applicability of this principle to Vergil, and in recent years other critics have suggested a solution similar to the λύσις ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου for some small problems in the *Aeneid*, including Jupiter’s claim at 10.6–15 to have forbidden war between the Italians and Trojans, which he predicted at 1.263–64; the prediction by Jupiter at 1.286–90 of a Julius Caesar who seems to resemble both Julius and Augustus (more on this in the next chapter); and Aeneas’ attri-

⁷⁴ Willcock (1978) 11–18 and (1977) 41–53 shows that Homer often lets characters say things inconsistent with what is said elsewhere, and at (1978) 17 comments: “Does that not involve a subtlety in the treatment of the characters by their creator not dissimilar to that in a modern novel? They say what fits their situation and attitude, not what is objectively true. The same is the case, of course, with speeches in Greek tragedy.”

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bution at 7.122–27 of the prophecy about eating tables, not to Celaeno, as in Book 3, but to his father Anchises.⁷⁵

I have also mentioned Heinze's idea that Vergil has Iris mislead Turnus in Book 9, because the scholion to *Il.* 18.154–6 says that Iris lies in order to rouse Achilles when she tells him that Hector wants to stick Patroclus' head on a stake.⁷⁶

An interesting early application of the λύσις ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου to Vergil is by St. Augustine. After Rome was occupied by invading Gauls in 410 B.C., Augustine mocks Jupiter's prediction of *imperium sine fine* at *Aen.* 1.278, but manages to acquit Vergil of the false prophecy:⁷⁷

Qui hoc (*sc.* aeternitatem) terrenis regnis promiserunt . . . adulatione mentiti sunt. Poeta illorum quidam induxit Iovem loquentem, et ait de Romanis: 'His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono: imperium sine fine dedi.' Non plane ita respondet veritas. . . . Forte si vellemus hinc agitare Virgilium et insultare, quare hoc dixerit . . . diceret nobis: Et ego scio; sed quid facerem qui Romanis verba vendebam, nisi hac adulatione aliquid promitterem quod falsum erat? Et tamen et in hoc cautus fui, quando dixi, 'Imperium sine fine dedi,' Iovem ipsorum induxi, qui hoc diceret. Non ex persona mea dixi rem falsam, sed Iovi imposui falsitatis personam: sicut Deus falsus erat, ita mendax vates erat.

(Those who have promised eternity to earthly kingdoms . . . have lied in order to flatter. A certain poet of theirs brought on Jupiter to speak and he said of the Romans, "For them I place boundaries of neither space nor time: I have granted empire without end." Clearly this is not true. . . . If we wished to reproach and mock Vergil be-

⁷⁵ See Highet (1972) 285–90, and cf. Harrison (1984) 102–15 and Lyne (1987) 79–80, 89–90 on *Aen.* 10.6–15; Kinsey (1981) on 1.286–90; and Block (1981) 232–33 on 7.122–27.

⁷⁶ See chap. 2, n.26.

⁷⁷ *Serm.* 105, 7, 10 (Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae* 38, 622–23); see Hagendahl (1967) 326, 415–17, and Horsfall (1976) 73, with further references.

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cause he said this . . . he would say to us: "Yes, I know. But what could I do, as a peddler of words to the Romans, but flatter them by promising something that was false? Still even in this I was careful: when I said, 'I have granted empire without end,' I brought on their own Jupiter to say it. I did not say this false thing in my own *persona*, but imposed the lying *persona* on Jupiter: as the god was false, so too was he a deceptive prophet.")

Augustine's picture of Vergil dissimulating for profit and writing only to flatter is crude and inadequate. Still, it is interesting that in order to make his point about the impermanence of earthly kingdoms he would present Vergil disclaiming responsibility for a false prophecy given *non ex persona mea*, but by one of the characters in the poem.

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The Prophecies of Rome

Vergil makes his epic of the Homeric past look forward to his own time through a number of prophecies that predict the glorious Roman future, when Augustus Caesar will restore the Golden Age of peace and justice. The most prominent of these are the prophecy of Jupiter to Venus at 1.257–96, the parade of future Roman heroes whom Anchises identifies for Aeneas in the underworld at 6.756–886, and the scenes from Roman legend and history engraved by Vulcan on the shield of Aeneas, which Vergil describes at 8.626–728.¹ Vergil's use of these *vaticinia ex eventu* reflects both historical circumstances and a long literary tradition. The role of divination in politics was considerable in Vergil's lifetime: men used the rituals of divination to justify or nullify political actions, and often manufactured old prophecies (mostly Sibylline oracles) that could be made relevant to present-day political ambition.² The literary tradition shows that inventing such *vaticinia ex eventu*, whether for political purposes or simply out of interest in aetiology, was popular throughout antiquity. The earliest significant poetic example is Pindar's *Pythian* 4, where the poet has Medea prophesy the glory of the victor's city and family;³ such prophecies also ap-

¹ Other brief prophecies of Rome: 1. 19–22; 2. 192–94 (see Block [1981] 272–73); 3. 97–98, 156–59; 4. 228–34, 267–76; 7. 98–101; 9. 641–44; 12. 827, 838–40.

² On divination in Roman politics, cf. Liebeschuetz (1979) 7–29; Linderski (1982) 25–26, 34–38; and Momigliano (1984) 210–11. Suet. *Aug.* 14–17 lists prophecies and omens about Augustus; *Aug.* 31 reports that in 13 B.C. Augustus collected and burned two thousand books of prophecies.

³ *P.* 4. 9–56. Some (e.g., Trencsényi-Waldapfel [1961] 282n.1) have pointed to *Il.* 20.300–308 and *Hom. hy. Ven.* 196–97, where Poseidon and Aphrodite prophesy the reign of the Aeneadae, allegedly to honor reputed descendants of Aeneas, but Smith (1981) 17–58 refutes this idea.

pear in Herodotus,⁴ Aeschylus, Euripides, Lycophron, and Callimachus.⁵ Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, where Apollo predicts the future reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, is of particular importance because in this poem, as in the *Aeneid*, the poet suggests parallels between the events of the poem's narrative and the future that is predicted.⁶ Roman examples are found in Tibullus, Horace, probably Naevius, possibly Ennius, and the Sibylline Oracles.⁷ Vergil works within this long literary tradition, and carries the *vaticinium ex eventu* further than even Callimachus in the extended and elaborate way in which he links the mythic and contemporary aspects of his epic.⁸

Vergil departs from his literary predecessors, however, and from the political propagandists of his age, in one important respect: he puts his prophecies in dramatic situations that make it seem likely that the speaker is being deceptively optimistic, and presents the details of the prophecies in such a way that the simple but eloquent message of Augustan propaganda is colored by more complex speculation on the truthfulness of that message.

⁴ See Crahay (1956) 21–22.

⁵ Aesch. *Eum.* 681–708, 825ff., *Prom.* 732–34; Eurip.: see Barrett (1966) 412–13; Lycophron 732–37, 973–77, 1226–30, 1412–50 (for influence on Vergil, see West [1983] 132–35); Callim. *Ait. fr.* 57–59Pf., *Del.* 162–95.

⁶ *Del.* 162–95, on which see Bing (1981) 5, 27–35, Mineur (1982), and Koenen (1983) 174–90; influence on Vergil is suggested by Mayer (1984) 32.

⁷ Cf. Tib. 2.5.55–79, Hor. *Serm.* 2.5.62–64, Naev. fr. 13 Morel (Macrob. *Sat.* 6.2.31): *In principio Aeneidos tempestas describitur et Venus apud Iovem queritur . . . hic locus totus sumptus a Naevio est ex primo libro belli Punici. Illic enim aeque Venus Troianis tempestate laborantibus cum Iove queritur, et sequuntur verba Iovis filiam consolantis spe futurorum* (Mayer [1984] 32 suggests influence on Vergil; see also Buchheit [1963] 53–57); Enn. *Ann.* VIII xvS (Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.20): *In Ennio enim inducitur Iuppiter promittens Romanis excidium Carthaginis* (see Wigodsky [1972] 51n.253). The influence of the Sibylline Oracles on Vergil is discussed by Trencsényi-Waldapfel (1961); not all of his parallels, however, are convincing.

⁸ On the *vaticinium ex eventu* in Vergil, the Alexandrians, and other poets, see Heinze (1957) 394–96; Mayer (1984) 32; Mineur (1982) *ad Callim. Del.* 153–96; Bing (1981) 149 and Koenen (1983) 174–90 (on the “Oracle of the Potter”); Deubner (1921) 368–70; Hensel (1908); and Ziegler (1934) 22n.1.

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The importance of Vergil's prophecies of Rome has been described with clarity and insight by R. D. Williams, in his introduction to the speech of Jupiter to Venus in Book 1:⁹

The prophecy of Jupiter outlines the Roman mission, first conquest and then civilisation and peace; and it gives an impetus to the poem which lifts it on to a level above the individual actions of the human characters. It shines through the dark places, and provides a partial answer to the problems of human suffering with which the *Aeneid* is so preoccupied. Without it the events of (say) Book 4 or Book 12 would seem like the senseless suffering of a blind world; with it there is a reason for the sacrifice, even if it does not satisfy us. The world order, which seems here so desirable, cannot be achieved without suffering and sacrifice, and as the poem explains those sacrifices, the reader must remember why they have to be made. We must not be unmindful of Jupiter's speech when Aeneas has to face the problems which it involves.

This is a fine summary of a popular view of this passage and of the whole poem, which is that the suffering of Aeneas and others is to be more easily tolerated because it will lead to civilization and peace in the time of Vergil and Augustus.¹⁰ That this is Jupiter's message for Venus is clear, but Vergil's point of view cannot simply be equated with Jupiter's. Vergil's prophecies of Rome should be considered in the light of the other optimistic prophecies in the poem, and read with close attention to detail and to various levels of suggestion. In a poem in which prophecies often—though not always—falsely encourage the characters, prophecies looking hopefully toward the Augustan present might well offer a falsely optimis-

⁹ Williams (1972) *ad* 1.223–24; cf. also Williams (1962) *ad* 3.84–85, and (1965–66) 19–23.

¹⁰ Comparable evaluations of Jupiter's speech by Büchner (1955) col. 1342–45; Wlosok (1967) 60–73 and (1973) 147–48; Block (1981) 112; and Kühn (1971) 19–27. Cf. also Stahl, at n. 13.

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tic view of that present.¹¹ Many Vergilian scholars of recent decades have already asserted this about the optimistic prophecies of Rome, because of the conflict between what these prophecies say about the possibilities for lasting peace in the world, and what the harsher world of the poem suggests.¹² Defenders of older interpretations of the *Aeneid*, who see the poem as one of triumph, progress, and optimism, accuse modern scholars of not paying enough attention to "programmatic passages such as Jove's revelation of Rome's future in Book 1, Anchises' prophecy in Book 6, [and] Vulcan's fate-informed survey of Roman history in 8," where "Virgil is seen to lend special support to Augustus by showing that his rule, equivalent to the return of the Golden Age, was fate-ordained all along."¹³ Close reading of many of Vergil's short-term prophecies has shown that the conflict between optimistic expectations and a harsher reality is characteristic of Vergilian prophecy. Examination of the details of the prophecies of Rome supports rather than invalidates the modern scholarship that sees doubt and fear about the Augustan settlement in the *Aeneid*. The specific pattern of one death being omitted from an optimistic prophecy is not the structuring principle here, but the essential feature of that pattern, the difference between

¹¹ Of the two recent studies of prophecy in the *Aeneid*, Mack (1978) 68–84 sees and argues for this, but Block (1981) 112, 225, 251, and 253 assumes that the prophecies of Rome will be regarded as wholly truthful.

¹² Critics stressing the darker side of the *Aeneid* either assert or imply that the prophecies of Rome are out of step with Vergil's real concerns. Cf. Brooks (1953), Parry (1963), Clausen (1964), Putnam (1965) and (1970), MacKay (1963), Edwards (1960), Boyle (1972), Wiesen (1973), Johnson (1976), Griffin (1979), Thomas (1982), G. Williams (1983), and Lyne (1983). Some of these do confront the prophecies, but most find richer material for study elsewhere. Putnam (1970) says, "the dream is proved false by the hero's actions." Thomas (1982) 35–50 finds the *laudes Italiae* of *Geo.* 2.136–76 undercut by Vergil's details in this very passage, but says that prophecies in the *Aeneid* of a Golden Age are undercut elsewhere in the poem; see, e.g., p. 97 on the *Heldenschau*: "If we leave aside this prophecy (presented on the level of blatant statement), if we examine the action in the . . . second half of the *Aeneid*, . . . a very different picture emerges."

¹³ Stahl (1981) 157.

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prophecy and outcome, is prominent in the prophecies of Rome. The poet puts his pronouncements about the glory of Rome in the form of prophecies spoken by others not merely to mute the effusiveness of his propaganda or panegyric,¹⁴ but rather to achieve a more interesting poetic effect: with the prophecies of Rome the position of the Roman reader becomes disturbingly like that of the characters within the poem who receive optimistic prophecies. *Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur*, as Horace says at *Satire* 1.1.69–70 (“Change the name, and the story is told about you”). Vergil is concerned with and sympathetic to both the optimism and hope that the surface of the prophecies most eloquently presents, and the nagging fear and pessimism discernible in the depths of the prophecy scenes and elsewhere.

In this chapter I shall examine the speech of Jupiter to Venus in Book 1 in some detail, and then discuss the prophecy of Anchises to Aeneas in the underworld. A brief appendix will treat the shield of Aeneas.

JUPITER AND VENUS

At 1.227–53, Venus approaches Jupiter in heaven and complains to him that the recent sufferings of Aeneas and the Trojans contradict Jupiter’s promise that Aeneas would father a race of men to rule the world. To assuage her fears and worries, Jupiter describes for Venus the fates of Aeneas, Ascanius, the Alban kings, and Romulus; the conquest of Greece; and finally the coming of a *Iulius Caesar* after whose deification peace will reign, with the gates of War closed and *Furor impius* securely chained within (1.257–96). This is the most optimistic prophecy of the poem, and significantly is the only one to promise endless empire and the permanence of the Augustan achievement:

¹⁴ Cf. Mineur (1982) 158: “Such a prophecy is an excellent device to make flattery of the monarch less obtrusive”; similarly Heinze (1957) 395n.2 and Hensel (1908) 45. This is not irrelevant to Vergil, but it is not a satisfactory account of his motivations.

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his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono:
imperium sine fine dedi. (278–79)

(For them I place no boundaries of space or time: I have granted rule without end.)¹⁵

The golden line 291 promises a better, gentler age: *aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis* ("then the harsh ages will set aside war and grow gentler"); lines 278–79 assure Venus and us that this gentler age will not fade or deteriorate, as such ages have a tendency to do.¹⁶ In general, this prophecy leaves out even the negative material contained in other prophecies in the *Aeneid* (especially that of Anchises in the underworld), and makes empire and the final peace under Augustus seem painless and easy.¹⁷ More specifically, several features of Vergil's presentation subtly but clearly suggest that Jupiter is carefully tailoring his prophecy to console Venus.

The Context

The conversation of Jupiter and Venus at 1.227–96 follows almost immediately after the scene discussed in chapter 1 in which Aeneas encourages his men to hope that their troubles

¹⁵ Cf. R. D. Williams (1972) *ad* 278–79: "These are sonorous and unforgettable phrases: the proud certainty of Roman imperial rule must have had a profound impact on Virgil's reader." Taylor (1955) 267 notes that Jupiter's promise of *imperium sine fine* does not recur, but says that it "may have been taken for granted in the later passages"; cf. Ryberg (1958) 131n.58. Wiesen (1973) 756–65 and Thomas (1982) 97–103 discuss suggestions in the second half of the *Aeneid* that the Golden Age will not be permanent.

¹⁶ Cf. n.85.

¹⁷ See Mack (1978) 69, who compares his prophecy with that of Creusa at 2.780–84, on which see chap. 3 *init.* Cf. also Harrison (1984), and Lyne (1987) 79–81.

Wlosok (1967) 65–69 says, "Die Worte Jupiters geben deutlich zu verstehen, dass es sich um eine harte Aufgabe handelt" (65), and that Jupiter is depicted as "ein harter Herr," and "ein gestrenger Vater" (69) here as in *Geo.* 1.121–24. There is no such stress on *labores* here; the *Aeneid* as a whole shows that Jupiter is a harsh father; his speech to Venus does not.

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may soon be over, and Vergil stresses the hollowness of Aeneas' words, saying,

talia voce refert curisque ingentibus aeger
spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem.
(1.208–9)

(Such things he says, and sick with great cares he feigns
hope on his face, suppressing the pain deep in his heart.)

Just before breaking away to the scene in heaven, Vergil shows us Aeneas grieving privately for his missing men:

praecipue pius Aeneas nunc acris Oronti,
nunc Amyci casum gemit et crudelia secum
fata Lyci fortemque Gyan fortemque Cloanthum.
(1.220–22)

(Devoted Aeneas especially mourns to himself now the
loss of Orontes, now that of Amycus, and the cruel
deaths of Lycus, brave Gyan, and brave Cloanthus.)

Soon after Jupiter's prophecy—to skip over the eight lines on the dispatching of Mercury to Carthage—Aeneas meets Venus in the woods near Carthage (305–417). There Venus omits mention of Orontes in her interpretation of the bird omen, and tells Aeneas that he is not hated by divinities, right after Juno has tried to kill him through Aeolus' storm. These two scenes of deceptive encouragement frame Jupiter's prophecy. Soon after the conversation of Venus and Aeneas, Vergil takes pains to stress the irony of Aeneas' ignorance about the implacability of Juno as he stares at the murals on the temple of Juno at Carthage (450–93). Aeneas' ignorance can be traced in part to Venus' words. Venus' words of encouragement to Aeneas naturally reflect the assurances she has received from Jupiter.

The details of the more immediate dramatic setting of the conversation between Jupiter and Venus reinforce the impres-

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sion given by the larger narrative framework. The description of the mood of a recipient of a prophecy is important here as elsewhere.¹⁸ Venus is distraught when she approaches Jupiter (*tristior et lacrimis oculos suffusa nitentis* 228, "quite sad, with tears filling her shining eyes").¹⁹ Jupiter says that he is telling Venus more about the future now in order to console her: *fabor enim, quando haec te cura remordet* . . . (261–62, "I shall speak, since this care keeps eating at you"; compare also 290 *secura* = *sine cura*, "without worry"). This could be a clue that this is an occasion for rhetorical falsehoods, where the content of a prophecy is to be determined more by what the character wants or needs to hear than by what the truth of the situation is. It is not unreasonable to see a potential parallel between Aeneas addressing his men with a feigned look of hope despite his cares (*curisque ingentibus aeger/ spem vultu simulat* 208–9) and Jupiter attempting to console Venus.

Vergil even subtly suggests that Jupiter, like Aeneas, is affected by *curae* but presents an optimistic *vultus*. In 227–29, Vergil describes the condition in which Venus finds Jupiter: *atque illum talis iactantem pectore curas* . . . *adloquitur Venus* ("and as he tosses such cares in his heart Venus speaks to him"). Jupiter's *curae* should remind the reader of those of Aeneas, described only twenty lines earlier.²⁰ Before he speaks to Venus, Jupiter smiles at her and kisses her, showing no sign of care or worry:

Olli subridens hominum sator atque deorum
vultu, quo caelum tempestatesque serenat,
oscula libavit natae, dehinc talia fatur. . . .

(1.254–56)

¹⁸ Cf. appendix to chap. 1.

¹⁹ Venus' words imply that Jupiter once made a prophecy to her that did not mention the need for such suffering as Aeneas and the Trojans have experienced. Cf. Kühn (1971) 23 and Stahl (1969) 354.

²⁰ Most who have commented on this either focus on how nice it is that Jupiter is concerned for the Trojans just as Aeneas is concerned for his own men (Wlosok [1967] 28, Kühn [1971] 19–20), or find Jupiter's *curae* wholly inappropriate (Friedrich [1940] 167).

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(The progenitor of gods and men, smiling at her with the face with which he makes serene the heavens and the storms, takes the kiss of his daughter, then says these things. . . .)

Much has been made of "Jupiter's quiet serenity" here; some have made it a basic characteristic of the god, to be contrasted with the turbulent thoughts and emotions of Juno, Turnus, and all forces of disorder.²¹ Weather/sky gods, however, are not always calm, and Jupiter does not "smile . . . with the face that always keeps the weather calm."²² Rather when he smiles at Venus, kisses her, and gives her an optimistic prophecy about Aeneas' future, the expression on his face is the one he has when he calms the weather. The repetition of *curis* 208 in *curas* 227, and of *vultu* 209 in *vultu* 255, helps underline the parallel between Aeneas' speech to his men and Jupiter's words to Venus.²³

The similarity of the descriptions of Jupiter and Aeneas here

²¹ Pöschl (1962) 16–24, esp. 16–17 = (1977) 16–23, Wlosok (1967) 60–61. For the possible connection of 1.254–55 with Enn. *Ann.* 446–47S, see Skutsch (1985) *ad loc.* and Wigodsky (1972) 51n.253.

²² See the criticism of Pöschl by Coleman (1982) 167n.41: *serenitas* "is only one facet of Jupiter's character. . . . Not for nothing did Jupiter wield the least serene of punitive weapons (1.230); on occasion he could exhibit as much *saevitia* as Juno. . . ." On Jupiter, cf. also Estevez (1982) 22–34, Johnson (1976) 122–34, and Lyne (1987) 85.

In *Aen.* 1 Neptune calms the sea after Juno's storm, but Juno's fury continues unabated: the pacification (so important to Pöschl's reading of the poem) is superficial and temporary.

In *Geo.* 1.340, the irony of Vergil's reference to *ver serenum* right after the lengthy description of the destructive storms of spring (cf. chap. 1, Anchises section) is sharper than, but in some ways parallel to, that of Jupiter's apparent *serenitas* after the *curae* of 227.

²³ Vergil often uses repetition of words to link scenes in Book 1: the speeches of Juno and Venus (cf. *Pallas* . . . *potuit* 1.39–41 with *Antenor potuit* 1.242; and *unius ob noxam* 41 with *unius ob iram* 251), of Aeneas to his men and Venus to Jupiter (cf. *dabit deus his quoque finem* 199 with *quem das finem* 241), and of Venus and Jupiter (cf. *sententia vertit* in 237 and 260). More parallels in Berres (1982) 292.

is also reflected in the way that both resemble what is said of Dido in a scene in Book 4. When Dido deceives her sister Anna, hiding from her the fatal seriousness of her grief over the departure of Aeneas, Vergil says, *consilium vultu tegit ac spem fronte serenat* (4.477, "by her face she conceals her plan, making her brow serene with hope"). Dido's deception of Anna is like Aeneas' deception of his men; Vergil repeats two words from the phrase *spem vultu simulat* in Book 1. The rare word *serenat* appears in Vergil only in 4.477 and in the description of Jupiter at 1.255, both times at line-end.²⁴ The repetitions reinforce the basic similarity of the positions of Aeneas, Dido, and Jupiter.

The surrounding scenes and the description of Jupiter and Venus are clues that Jupiter's prophecy might not be simply "a revelation of Rome's future," in which "Vergil is seen to show special support to Augustus," but instead Vergil's dramatization of an attempt by Jupiter to console Venus by presenting an overly optimistic view of that future. The details of Vergil's presentation of the speech make clear that Jupiter is indeed deceiving Venus. The following pages will examine the prophecy of the rest of Aeneas' life at 259–66, the description of Romulus at 273–77, and the promise of a *Iulius Caesar* at 286ff.

Aeneas, Troy, and Rome

Jupiter deceives or misleads Venus about the difficulties and compromises that await Aeneas in Italy, and the degree to which the culture of her beloved Troy will contribute to that of Rome. Jupiter and Vergil begin with an etymological wordplay stressing that what Jupiter says (*fabor enim* 1.261) should correspond exactly to what is fated to happen (*fatorum arcana* 262). Vergil is playing with the common etymology of

²⁴ Before Vergil, the verb seems (cf. Lewis and Short, the *OLD*, and Austin [1971] *ad* 1.255) to survive only in Cicero's poem *De Cons.* fr. 11.24 Morel, in the phrase *luce serenanti*, where it is used absolutely rather than transitively.

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the word *fatum* from *fari*, “to speak.”²⁵ Jupiter tells Venus that she will eventually bear Aeneas to heaven (*feres ad sidera caeli/ . . . Aenean* 259–60), then describes the remaining events in Aeneas’ life on earth:

bellum ingens geret Italia populosque ferocis
contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet,
tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas
ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis.
(263–66)

(He will wage a great war in Italy and crush fierce peoples and give customs and walls to men, until the third summer will have seen him reigning in Latium, and the third time of winter camps will have gone by for the beaten Rutulians.)

Servius, more sensitive than we to ancient rhetorical practice, provides a good introduction to this passage in his comment on 263:

POPULOSQUE FEROCES CONTUNDET incongruum fuerat in consolatione dolenti bella praedicere; ob hoc ergo etiam victoriam pollicetur.

(“He will crush fierce peoples”: it would not have been fitting to predict war in a speech of consolation to someone grieving, so because of this he also promises victory.)

Servius rightly sees Jupiter’s speech as an attempt to console the grieving Venus, as a speech belonging to the rhetorical category *consolatio*, and notes that in a *consolatio* one should mention war only in the context of victory.²⁶ Here as elsewhere we benefit from Servius’ “awareness of technical terms and tech-

²⁵ Cf. chap. 1, n.67, and on this passage see Lyne (1987) 74.

²⁶ Cf. Wigodsky and Harrison, below at n.53.

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nical categories which we, in spite of scholarly reconstructions, sometimes do not recognize.”²⁷ Servius uses either the word *consolatio* or the ideas behind it to describe several of the deceptive prophecies discussed earlier in this study, and a related passage in the *Georgics*; his analysis is instructive enough to warrant a short digression before we examine Jupiter’s prophecy:

1. Servius *ad Aen.* 2.776 says that the speech in which Creusa tells Aeneas that his long wanderings will lead to *res laetae* in Italy is a *consolatio*.

2. Servius *ad* 6.763 calls Anchises’ prediction in the underworld of long life for Aeneas a *consolatio*:

TUA POSTUMA PROLES postumus est post humationem parentis creatus. per hoc autem Aeneas cito ostendit perituum, et statim infert consolationem dicens ‘quem tibi longaevo,’ id est deo.

(“Your posthumous offspring”: “posthumous” means born after the inhumation of the parent. So by saying this he shows that Aeneas will die soon, and immediately adds consolation, saying “whom to you long-lived,” that is, a god.)²⁸

3. Servius *ad* 8.61 (on the words of the river-god Tiberinus to Aeneas) does not use the word *consolatio*, but the thought closely parallels that of his comment on Jupiter’s words to Venus at 1.263:

MIHI VICTOR HONOREM PERSOLVES bene ei adimit bellicam curam promittendo voti fore compotem.

²⁷ Ross (1987) 128. Our rhetorical sources (Menander, Cicero, Seneca) usually use the term *consolatio* (or λόγος παραμνητικός) for speeches that seek to console after a death (cf. Nisbet and Hubbard [1970] on Horace C. 1.24), but see also Courtney (1980) on Juv. 12.

²⁸ On Servius’ idea that *longaevus* = *deus*, see chap. 3, n. 12.

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("As victor you will repay honor to me": he effectively keeps him from worrying about the war by promising that Aeneas will be able to make good on his vows.)

4. The end of *Georgics* 2 contains Vergil's Praise of Country Life. Servius *ad Georgics* 2.458 says that this passage is like a *consolatio*:

non est abruptus transitus ad laudem vitae rusticae, nam ad superiora pertinet. post vituperationem enim vini ista quasi consolatio est, per quam ostenditur, quantas voluptates rusticis natura praestiterit.

(The transition to the praise of the rustic life is not abrupt, because it is connected to what has gone before. For after the vituperation of wine there is a sort of consolation, through which it is shown what great delights nature has bestowed on countrymen.)

David Ross has shown that the praise of country life at the end of *Georgics* 2 is one "great lie," contradicted and undercut by the more realistic picture of country life and farming elsewhere in the poem.²⁹ The deception of Aeneas in the other three passages has been discussed earlier: when Creusa tells Aeneas that *res laetae* await him in Italy, when Anchises tells him of the son he will have in old age, and when Tiberinus tells Aeneas that the way to victory is to sacrifice to Juno, they console and encourage Aeneas with lies.

In the prophecy of Jupiter to which Servius applies the term *consolatio*, Jupiter implies that Aeneas' victory in Italy will be more decisive than what actually will take place at the end of the poem. Jupiter tells Venus that Aeneas will conquer a fierce people, and will impose *mores* (customs), and *moenia* (walls), on men, and will reign in Latium (*regnantem* 265). Aeneas says

²⁹ Ross (1987) 122–28, 141.

With Servius' use of the term *consolatio*, cf. Macrob. *Sat.* 5.11.8–9, on Aeneas' speech to his men after the storm (quoted chap. 1, n.2).

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in Book 12 that he does not wish to beat down the Italians, and will let Latinus continue to reign:

non ego nec Teucris Italos parere iubebo
nec mihi regna peto. . . .
sacra deosque dabo; socer arma Latinus habeto,
imperium sollemne socer. . . .
(12.189–90, 192–93)³⁰

(I shall not order the Italians to obey Trojans, nor do I myself seek to reign. . . . I shall provide the rites and gods; let my father-in-law Latinus keep military power and the formal right to rule.)

Instead of imposing walls on the people he has conquered, Aeneas says in the same speech that he will have his men build a separate city for him: *mihi moenia Teucri/ constituent* (12.193–94, “the Trojans will build walls for me”).³¹ These could be idealistic promises likely to be forgotten,³² but later, instead of letting Aeneas impose *mores* on the Italians, Jupiter will agree to Juno’s request that the Italians keep their own customs, and that the Trojan name be allowed to die out:

sermonem Ausonii patrium moresque tenebunt,
utque est nomen erit; commixti corpore tantum
subsident Teucri. morem ritusque sacrorum
adiciam faciamque omnis uno ore Latinos.
(12.834–37)

³⁰ Cartault (1926) vol. 1, 156: “Latio regnantem est en contradiction avec XII, 190, où Énée laisse à Latinus le titre de roi . . . ; sans doute Latinus n’ayant pas d’enfant mâle, Énée lui succédera comme roi du Latium, mais ici cette royauté lui est attribuée immédiatement après la soumission des Rutules, c’est-à-dire après la fin de la guerre.”

³¹ Cartault (1926) vol. 1, 156: “Dans l’accord avec Latinus, Énée règle ainsi les choses, XII, 193sq.: *Mihi moenia Teucri constituent*; les deux peuples restent distincts et les Latins conservent leurs villes; *Moenia* ponet de I, 264, ne se réalise donc pas.”

³² Lyne (1983) 197–99.

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(The Ausonians will keep the language and customs of their fathers, and the name will stay as it is; contributing only to the stock the Trojans will subside. I shall add the sacred customs and rites, and shall make them all Latins, with one language.)

“The Italians will keep their customs.” This is a key development in the conclusion of the *Aeneid*, toward which Vergil’s simultaneous explicit championing of the Trojans, and evident love and sympathy for the Italians, have been pointing throughout the last half of the poem.³³ But this development is wholly concealed from Venus. For the reader, however, the Jupiter-Juno scene in Book 12 contains several deliberate echoes of the Jupiter-Venus speeches, which suggest a kind of ring composition encouraging comparison of the two scenes.³⁴ Yet most critics either ignore the discrepancies, or explain that they are due to Vergil’s lack of opportunity to revise his text, and that he surely would have ironed out these difficulties had he lived long enough.³⁵ I think not. There is no reason for Jupiter to tell Venus about these compromises and difficulties, and it would be intolerable for Venus to hear about them. Persons in the *Aeneid* who are making prophecies for the purposes of encouraging someone do not worry as much about whether or not a prophecy is false or misleading as about whether it suits their immediate rhetorical purposes.

³³ Cf. chap. 2, Cybele section, and see Cartault (1926) vol. 1, 156; R. D. Williams (1973) *ad* 12.823–26 and (1984) 360; Jenkyns (1985) 66–68; G. Williams (1983) 142–44.

At 12.836–37 Jupiter does say that he will give to the Romans presumably Trojan *morem ritusque sacrorum*; his prophecy to Venus, like many others, may be literally true but deceptive.

³⁴ Cf. Buchheit (1963) 140–43, Kühn (1971) 164–65, Austin (1971) *ad* 1.254, G. Williams (1983) 142, and Moskalew (1982) 118 and n.83 with further references.

³⁵ Cartault (1926) vol. 1, 156, says Vergil would have revised; R. D. Williams (1965–66) 20 says that “it is interesting to notice that this aspect of the Roman mission receives modification at the end of the poem.”

Here as elsewhere, inconsistency is a deliberate narrative device.³⁶

The gap between what Venus wants and what will actually take place at the end of the poem can be seen in another apt Servian comment on one part of Venus' speech to Jupiter. Venus wants Aeneas to succeed as Antenor has; she says that Antenor has founded a city and given a name to the people (*genti nomen dedit* 1.248). Servius Auctus *ad* 248 reads:

ET GENTI NOMEN DEDIT hoc est quod ne victori quidem concedetur Aeneae; quod scimus a Iunone esse perfectum, sicut in XII (824) ait 'nunc Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque vocari,' et Iuppiter ait (XII 835) 'commixti corpore tantum.'³⁷

("And gave the name to the people": this is what will not be granted to Aeneas even as victor, which is something we know Juno brought about, as she says in Book 12, "Do not order them to become Trojans or be called Teucrians," and Jupiter says, "they will contribute only to the stock.")

Servius sees the importance that Venus attaches to the giving of the name, and rightly compares it with the events of Book 12. Jupiter understands Venus too, so he tells her about the handing on of the names of Iulus (267–68 and 288) and Rom-

³⁶ Lyne (1987) 79–81 is excellent on the speech of Jupiter (and elsewhere on the deceptiveness of the gods generally): "The war immediately facing Aeneas will be far from so clear-cut and clean in its issues or result as [Jupiter's] description implies. . . . Jupiter . . . is adapting the facts to suit his immediate needs. He is prophesying *rhetorically*. Faced with his tearful, distraught daughter, he is revealing his knowledge of the future, or part of it, in a manner designed to afford her the maximum of comfort." Cf. also Mack (1978) 83–84.

³⁷ Cf. Serv. *ad* 1.6 and *ad* 4.618 (Dido's curse): *PACIS INIQUAE ut supra* (I 6) *diximus, propter perditam linguam, habitum, nomen, quae solet victor imponere, sicut in XII (823) postulat Iuno*. On the name, cf. Lyne (1987) 96.

The passage from Servius quoted in the text continues, *contra quam oblique loquitur propter considerationem mariti*.

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ulus (277), but not about his crucial concession to Juno's request that the Trojan name should die.

Jupiter's prophecy about the imposition of *mores* is perhaps not so much false as evasively deceptive. He says that Aeneas will conquer "fierce peoples" (*populos ferocis* 263) and will give customs and walls to "men" (*moresque viris et moenia ponet* 264). The prophecy can be read as true if these are understood to be two different groups, with the *virī* in 264 not including the *populi feroces* whom Aeneas will defeat in war, but only his own men, for whom he will build a city. Thus Aeneas would indeed impose customs and walls on at least some men, just as Palinurus did indeed reach the shores of Italy safely, as Apollo predicted. The implication of the lines, however, is that Aeneas will conquer and civilize, and that the *virī* in 264 include the *populi* in 263: this is what deceives.

We must also be careful not to "prove" that Jupiter's prophecy to Venus is deceptive by reference to his words to Juno in Book 12, for that is to prove one prophecy wrong by another. Jupiter may be equivocating somewhat with Juno as well, and understating the Trojan contribution to Rome in order to overcome her anger. As with other prophecies looking beyond the poem, there is little solid ground on which to stand.³⁸ Still, Aeneas' words in Book 12, the thematic connotations of Troy and Italy in Books 7–12,³⁹ and the Rome that Vergil knew, create the strong impression that Jupiter's words to Juno are true, and that his speech to Venus is therefore misleading.

Jupiter not only fails to tell Venus that Aeneas will not impose customs or names on those he will conquer; he also deceives Venus more broadly about the role of Troy in the for-

³⁸ For Jupiter's possible equivocating with Juno, see Lyne (1987) 81–83, and my chap. 2 on Turnus and *devotio*. Comparing the prophetic words of Jupiter to Venus in Book 1 and Juno in Book 12 is somewhat like comparing the different views of the death of Aeneas presented by Jupiter in Book 1, Dido's curse in Book 4, and Anchises in Book 6 (see chap. 3).

³⁹ See chap. 1, n. 42, and chap. 2, n. 51.

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tunes of Rome.⁴⁰ For Venus, Troy will always be of central importance; Rome, she says, is to be her recompense for Troy's fall (1.238–39), and her wish will always be for Troy to be refounded.⁴¹ Jupiter implies that Aeneas will impose *mores* in Italy, and at 286–90 predicts the coming of a *pulchra Troianus origine Caesar* (“a Trojan Caesar, of splendid origin”). The poem's view of things Trojan turns out to be much more ambivalent than that of Jupiter's prophecy.⁴² Jupiter's words about Aeneas are followed by a section devoted to Ascanius (267–71), who elsewhere is shown to be Venus' special favorite, and to be particularly Eastern and Trojan.⁴³ Jupiter stresses that Ascanius is a Trojan,⁴⁴ and exaggerates his role in the history of the Alban/Roman people. Jupiter describes Ascanius as the founder of Alba Longa, which Trojans (*gente . . . Hectora* 273, “the race of Hector”) will rule for three hundred years after him. This is basically accurate, but implies that the Alban kings will be descended from Ascanius.⁴⁵ Anchises tells

⁴⁰ Cf. Kinsey (1981) 27. Friedrich (1940) 173 argues that Jupiter's stress on the Julians' role in Roman history makes the speech compare poorly with that of Anchises in the underworld, where the outlook is broader. The difference reflects not the early date of the passage, as Friedrich would have it, but simply Jupiter's rhetorical goals.

⁴¹ Cf. her words at 10.26–27: *muris iterum imminet hostis/ nascentis Troiae*; 55–58: *quid pestem evadere belli/ iuvit . . . / dum Latium Teucri recidivae Pergama quaerunt?* Juno's speech in reply stresses Trojan treachery, and she will in part carry the day.

⁴² Cf. references n. 39. This bit of Vergilian misdirection has deceived many readers as it does Venus; see nn. 56–57.

⁴³ On Venus' care for Ascanius, cf. 1.678 *mea maxima cura*, 10.46–53, 10.132 *Veneris iustissima cura*. For Ascanius and Troy, cf. 5.545–603, esp. 596–603 (his preservation in Alba of the *lusus Troiae*), and the Eastern preciousness of the simile applied to him at 10.132–38. What Apollo says to Ascanius at 9.644, *nec te Troia capit*, is neither available to Venus nor more reliable than other prophecies. On this and on Ascanius generally, see Petrini (1987) chap. 5.

⁴⁴ Cf. 1.267–68: *puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo/ additur* (*Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno*).

⁴⁵ *Hectora* (273) can simply mean “Trojan” (cf. Austin and Serv. *ad loc.*), but the word implies that the race of kings will be particularly Trojan, and descended not just from Aeneas, but from Venus' favorite, Iulus, who is Hector's nephew through his mother Creusa.

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Aeneas in the underworld that Aeneas' son by Lavinia, Silvius, will eventually rule at Alba and will sire the dynastic line there:

Silvius, Albanum nomen, . . . quem . . . Lavinia . . .
educet silvis regem regumque parentem,
unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba
(6.763–66)

(Silvius, of Alban name, whom Lavinia will raise in the woods, a king and father of kings, from whom our race will rule at Alba Longa.)

The words *Albanum nomen* are a reminder that the other Alban kings will bear the name Silvius (e.g., Silvius Aeneas in 6.769⁴⁶). The phrasing of *regem regumque parentem*, *unde* in 6.765 makes Silvius' role in the dynasty clear. The way that Vergil refers to Alba Longa in Books 1 and 6 is a further clue that he wishes the reader to compare the two passages: in both *Longam multa vi munit Albam* (1.271) and *unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba* (6.766), the name appears in the same metrical position, with the adjective first in “the archaic word order.”⁴⁷ Each line precisely describes the man's role: Ascanius will found the city, but the dynastic line will come from Silvius. There is similar precision about the roles of Silvius and Ascanius in the designation of Silvius by Anchises as *regem regumque parentem* (6.765, “king and father of kings”), and the address of Ascanius by Apollo in Book 9 as *dis genite et geniture deos* (9.642, “one sired by the gods, who will sire gods”). The polyptoton in each passage—*regem regum*; *dis . . . deos*; and *genite . . . geniture*—is striking, and helps to link them.⁴⁸ Sil-

⁴⁶ Cf. Austin (1977) *ad* 6.763.

⁴⁷ Norden (1957) *ad* 6.766.

⁴⁸ Breazeale (1917) 306–18 says that the *Aeneid* has polyptoton (repetition of a word in different cases) an average of once every 84 lines (she counts verbs, nouns, and adjectives, but not pronouns or forms of the verb *esse*). This makes the device rarer in the *Aeneid* than in Ovid *Met.* (one in 36) or in Luccretius (one in 40).

vius will be king, and father of the line of Alban kings, while Ascanius is born from gods and will have divine descendants (e.g., Julius). But Ascanius' blood will not be in the line of Alban kings, and indeed, "the *gens Iulia* left comparatively little mark on the history of the Roman Republic until near its fall."⁴⁹ Jupiter makes no mention of Silvius to Venus,⁵⁰ who would be justified in assuming that Ascanius will be the founder of the line (as scholars have often interpreted this passage to mean).

The inconsistency between what Jupiter implies about the role of Ascanius here and what Anchises says about Silvius in the underworld has, like so many other discrepancies in prophecies, been attributed to Vergil's carelessness, or his inability to revise the poem. Certainly here Vergil was drawing on what has rightly been called the "chaos" of early Roman legend,⁵¹ and we should not be surprised to find, or unwilling to overlook, some inconsistencies. But we should notice when Vergil seems to draw our attention to discrepancies, and should certainly note that here, whether by chance or by design, Vergil has chosen the version that lets Jupiter present Venus with the picture of the future most suited to her desires.⁵²

⁴⁹ Kinsey (1981) 27.

⁵⁰ In 1.273–74, Jupiter describes the mother of Romulus as *regina sacerdos* . . . *Ilia*. In some versions her name is Rhea Silvia (see *RE* 1 s.v. "Rea Silvia" col. 341–45 [Rosenberg]; some references in Austin *ad loc.*). Vergil and Jupiter here choose the name that associates her with Ilium and Iulus (note that the word *Ilia* appears in the same position in the verse in 268 and 274), instead of the name that would connect her with Silvius. But it should be noted that Anchises uses the name *Ilia* when speaking to Aeneas at 6.778.

⁵¹ Cf. especially Horsfall (1981).

⁵² I appeal again to the λύσις ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου (see appendix to chap. 3), which however cannot account for all the discrepancies in the stories of Silvius and Ascanius. For the inconsistencies as a narrative flaw, or a sign of Vergil's lack of interest, see the scholars quoted by Norden (1966) 389–91, and also Conington (1963) *ad* 6.763 and Horsfall (1981) 146. Norden (1966) 391–93 argues that Vergil builds from the various stories a compromise version, to stress the joint Trojan and Italian heritage of the Romans. This may be a correct reading of some passages, but it ignores the negative connotations of Troy in the Aeneid, and how the situation is presented to Venus by Jupiter.

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Jupiter's audience and rhetorical goals also account for his selection of details as he tells of Rome's future conquest of Greece, and Juno's change of attitude toward the Romans. The conquest of Greece is described in 1.283–85:

veniet lustris labentibus aetas
cum domus Assaraci Pthiam clarasque Mycenae
servitio premet ac victis dominabitur Argis.

(As the years slip by there will come an age when the house of Assaracus will enslave and rule over Pthia and famous Mycenae and Argos.)

Assaracus is Aeneas' Trojan great-grandfather; Jupiter's designation of the Romans as the "House of Assaracus" continues the stress on the Trojan heritage of Rome. The cities he names—Pthia, Mycenae, and Argos—are significant as well:

In representing the conquest of Greece as a revenge for the sack of Troy . . . [Vergil] distorts history by making it appear that the cities of the principal leaders in the earlier war—Achilles, Agamemnon, and Diomedes—were the principal sufferers in the later one.⁵³

The distortion is slight, and harmless, but shows Jupiter's desire to present Rome to Venus as fitting recompense for the fall of Troy. Similarly, Jupiter's words at 1.279–82 about Juno's change of attitude seem intended to give Venus the impression that this will happen soon:

quin aspera Iuno,
quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,
consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit
Romanos, rerum dominos gentemque togatam.

⁵³ Wigodsky (1972) 70–71 and n.353; cf. also Harrison (1984) 103 on the "dramatic purpose" of Jupiter's words.

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(Even harsh Juno, who now wears out sea and lands and heaven with fear, will change her counsels for the better, and with me will cherish the Romans, lords of the world, and the people of the civilian toga.)

That Juno will soon favor the Romans has indeed been the message of these lines for those who find this prophecy fulfilled in the Jupiter-Juno scene in Book 12, but as I noted in chapter 1, close reading of these lines (for example, 1.282 *Romanos*, not *Aenean* or *Aeneadas*) and attention to Vergil's allusions to Roman legend elsewhere show that this is not correct, and that Juno will oppose the Romans until after the Punic Wars.⁵⁴ Jupiter's words about Juno's change come between his descriptions of the founding of Rome and the conquest of Greece: the *evocatio* of Juno is thus in its proper place chronologically, but this is only apparent given the hindsight of Roman history. The deception of Aeneas about the role of Juno is a prominent theme in the poem; to a certain extent, Venus herself is deceived about Juno.⁵⁵

Jupiter's prophecy to Venus has been seen as "a summary of the whole plot [of the *Aeneid*], which makes possible a correct understanding of the poem from the beginning." Looking at Jupiter's prophecy, one would expect this to be true, but consideration of the "whole poem" shows that it is not. As Jupiter deceives Venus, so Vergil deceives or misdirects the reader: the beginning of the *Aeneid* sets up expectations that will not be fulfilled, as the poem becomes more complex and ambiguous.⁵⁶ Taken in isolation, the surface of Jupiter's prophecy

⁵⁴ See my references to Johnson, Feeney, and Harrison in chap. 1, Anchises section.

⁵⁵ Jupiter also seems to deceive Juno about the outcome of the war between Carthage and Rome, especially in the divine assembly that opens Book 10: see Harrison (1984) 102–15, and Lyne (1987) 79–80. That scene has often been criticized because of Jupiter's inconsistency with what he says elsewhere, but we can appeal to the λύσις ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου (see appendix to chap. 3).

On the goals and methods of Venus and Juno, see also Konstan (1986).

⁵⁶ Cf. Büchner (1955) col. 1343: the Jupiter-Venus scene is "eine Abbre-
viatur des Gesamtgeschehens, die ein echtes Verständnis von Anfang an er-

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does not prepare us for the moral complexities that will attend the war in Italy, for the way that the poem will color its pride in the Romans' legendary Trojan heritage with profound ambivalence about Trojan decadence and treachery, or for Juno's surprising partial victory in Book 12, as she succeeds in arranging for the Trojan name to die out, without yet beginning to "cherish" the toga-wearing Romans. To read Jupiter's prophecy as "a summary of the whole poem" is not so much a misreading as an incomplete reading. This incomplete reading results in part from inattention to the development of themes in the once neglected second half of the poem, in part from a reluctance to admit that Jupiter could speak deceptively. When Aeneas has to ask Palinurus how he could have died, after Apollo predicted that he would reach Italy safely, or when he complains that neither Helenus nor Celaeno predicted his father's death, his confusion, uncertainty, and pain are not enviable. When the *Aeneid* puts the reader in the position of the characters within the poem who receive deceptively optimistic prophecies, as it does when Vergil both creates and frustrates the expectation that Jupiter's prophecy will provide a dependable guide to the poem, it is disturbing and unsettling. Can one be certain about anything in this poem?⁵⁷

möglichst." On some expectations created in *Aen.* 1 but not fulfilled, see Lyne (1987) 28n.55. On frustrating expectations in literature more generally, see Iser (1974) 57–59 and 274–94, and Fish in Tompkins (1980) 70–100, esp. 85ff. For "misdirection" in the *Iliad*, see Morrison (1988), esp. chap. 3, which deals in part with misleading prophecies of Zeus. In Zeus' speech to Thetis in *Iliad* 1 (one of the models for Jupiter's speech to Venus), he is almost as evasive as Vergil's Jupiter, saying only that he will accomplish what Thetis wants (1.522–27).

⁵⁷ Cf. Murgia (1987) 51: "Such a trustworthy prediction [as Jupiter's prophecy] is needed as a control on more ambiguous predictions later in the poem. . . ." This may be what we need, but it is not what we get.

Discussion of the "reader" of an ancient or any poem is difficult. I have profited most from Winkler (1985), who reveals the implicit analogies between characters in and readers of Apuleius' *Golden Ass*, and have also learned from Fish (1971) and (1976), Iser (1974) and (1978), Todorov (1977), Tompkins (1980), Block (1981), Pedrick and Rabinowitz (1986), Batstone (1988), Clay (1983) 212–66 and (1988), and Morrison (1988). Chap. 7 of Cairns

A final comment on Jupiter's prophecy about Aeneas: Jupiter's simple statement to Venus *feres ad sidera caeli* / . . . *Aenean* (I.259–60, "you will carry Aeneas to the stars of heaven") makes no mention of any unpleasant aspects of Aeneas' death. I have noted that Dido's curse asking for Aeneas to die a horrible death may suggest that Jupiter is presenting an exclusively positive picture of a death with significant negative aspects. In Jupiter's speech Vergil may make one veiled allusion to the traditional story of Aeneas' end. In lines 265–66, Jupiter says that after the defeat of the Rutulians, three summers (*aestas* 265) and three winters (*hiberna* 266) will pass with Aeneas reigning in Latium. The word *hiberna* properly means "winter camps," but with Vergil's fondness for variation it could simply mean "winters," as an equivalent for *hiemes*, as some commentators insist. But Vergil's practice is to exploit ambiguity, and it may be wrong to exclude the suggestion in the word *hiberna* that three winter encampments will pass—that either the Trojans or Rutulians will stay in their armed camps for the rest of Aeneas' life.⁵⁸ Thus the last line in the section on Aeneas could contain an allusion to the renewed military activity that in most versions of the story leads to Aeneas' death.⁵⁹

Romulus and Remus

Jupiter speaks of Romulus and Remus twice in his prophecy to Venus: first at I.273–77, where he describes the wolf's nursing of the twins and Romulus' founding of the city, then

(1979), "Deceiving," is also relevant.

A reader of Fish (1971) might devise this refutation of my arguments about the *Aeneid*: just as the reader of Fish's Milton is supposed to be tempted along with Adam, but then resist the temptation, so too the reader of the *Aeneid* should feel the doubt Aeneas feels, but then overcome it. This reading will not fit the poem at all: note especially that it is Satan who deceives in Milton, but gods like Jupiter and Venus in Vergil.

⁵⁸ Conington (1963) and Austin (1971) *ad loc.* argue for this; *contra* R. D. Williams (1972) *ad loc.*

⁵⁹ Cf. references in chap. 3, n. 34.

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at 292–93, where Quirinus/Romulus and his brother Remus will be lawgivers in the gentler age to come after the apotheosis of the Caesar predicted in 286–90. Both passages present to Venus and to the reader a picture full of pride and praise, but both also clearly remind the reader of Romulus' killing of Remus, the fratricide that marked Rome's founding and that was seen as emblematic of the basic Roman tendency toward the fratricidal strife of civil war.⁶⁰ Vergil undercuts Jupiter's optimistic prediction of the Roman future, putting Venus (and the reader) in the same position as the characters who receive deceptive short-term prophecies. Venus has complained in 234–37 about Jupiter's apparently neglected promise that from Aeneas would come the *Romani* (234) who would dominate the world, and Jupiter says that Romulus will found the city and name the *Romani* after himself. Vergil's choice of words is, as always, careful and suggestive, as D. C. Feeney explains:

Jupiter describes the birth of the *twins*: *geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem* (274). The first five feet of the next line allude to the wolf who nursed the twins (*inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine*), and it is with considerable shock that we reach the final word and discover that it is *singular* (*laetus*). We carry on to find Romulus as the subject: *Romulus excipiet gentem* (276). *Remo scilicet interempto*, comments Servius.⁶¹ Just so. We continue: *Mavortia condet/ moenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicet* (276–77). It was when Remus jumped over Romulus' *moenia* that he was killed, while the naming of the people after Romulus rather than after Remus was a result of Romulus' victory in the contest of auspi-

⁶⁰ Cf. Hor. *Epod.* 7.17–20: *acerba fata Romanos agunt/ scelusque fraternae necis,/ ut inmeritis fluxit in terram Remi/ sacer nepotibus cruor*; Lucan 1.95: *fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri*. Cf. Wagenvoort (1956) 169–83; on the story, see Ogilvie (1970) *ad* Livy 6.3–7.3 and Bömer (1958) *ad* Ovid *Fasti* 4.809ff.

This association of Romulus with fratricide seems to have been one factor discouraging Octavian from taking the name Romulus instead of Augustus. Cf. Wagenvoort (1956) 183 and Syme (1939) 313–14.

⁶¹ "After the killing of Remus, of course."

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ces: *certabant urbem Romam Remoramne vocarent* (Ennius *Ann.* 77 Skutsch).⁶²

References to Romulus in Augustan verse generally suggest fratricide and civil war;⁶³ in 273–77 Vergil takes particular care to choose words that present only positive aspects to Venus, but carry clear suggestions of fratricide for the reader. Vergil's technique is similar at *Georgics* 2.532–33, where the idyllic praise of country life ends with Romulus and Remus: *hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini, / hanc Remus et frater* ("this life at one time the old Sabines lived, this life Remus and his brother"). It is not that "here and at *Aeneid* 1.292 Virgil tacitly puts aside any thought of the legend that Romulus killed his brother,"⁶⁴ for a reference to the wall that Remus leapt over before being killed appears in the *Georgics* (*muro* 2.535) as in Jupiter's prophecy, and in most references to the fratricide.⁶⁵ In the *Georgics*, the reference to Romulus and Remus helps to undercut the praise of country life; in the *Aeneid*, Jupiter does not mention the fratricide, but Vergil clearly alludes to it.

At 1.292–93, Jupiter describes the peace to come after the civil wars, and after the apotheosis of Caesar, when the deified Romulus/Quirinus and his brother Remus will give laws: *Remo cum fratre Quirinus / iura dabunt*. For the Roman reader this could be an image of reconciliation after fraternal strife, and for Venus, who has heard no mention of the problematic side of Romulus, the prophecy suggests only fraternal concord.⁶⁶ But here as clearly as anywhere, Jupiter predicts something that will not, can not, and did not happen: Remus is dead, and the Augustan settlement could not heal all the

⁶² Feeney (1986) 9.

⁶³ Ross (1987) 127.

⁶⁴ Wilkinson (1982) 152; cf. Wilkinson (1969) 163.

⁶⁵ Tib. 2.5.23–24: *Romulus aeternae nondum formaverat urbis / moenia, consorti non habitanda Remo*; and Prop. 3.9.50: *caeso moenia firma Remo*; Lucan 1.95: *fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri*, 7.438: *Romulus infami complexit moenia luco*. See Ross (1987) 127–28.

⁶⁶ Cf. Serv. Auct. ad 292: *hic dissimulat de parricidio*.

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wounds of the past, could not bring back Cicero, Salvidienus Rufus, Sextus Pompey, Marc Antony, Cornelius Gallus, or the countless civil war dead. Servius struggles to explain how the names Quirinus and Remus refer allegorically to Augustus and Agrippa, who did share power; his clumsy efforts only help to show that nothing in the experience of Romans of Vergil's day could correspond to Jupiter's prediction. It is as though a prophecy about the early days of the United States were to predict the glorious work to be done together by Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr: the killing of Hamilton by Burr would not be "tacitly glossed over," but instead called to mind, and it would appear that the person receiving the prophecy was being misled.

Servius *ad* 276 preserves a story that shows one way in which a Roman of Vergil's time might have viewed the idea of a reconciliation between Romulus and Remus:

post (Remi) mortem natam constat pestilentiam. unde consulta oracula dixerunt placandos esse manes fratris extincti; ob quam rem sella curulis cum sceptro et corona et ceteris regni insignibus semper iuxta sancientem aliquid Romulum ponebatur, ut pariter imperare viderentur. unde est (292) 'Remo cum fratre Quirinus iura dabunt.'

(After the death of Remus it is agreed that a plague arose. The oracles that were consulted about this said that the spirit of the dead brother had to be placated. And so a curule chair, along with a scepter and a crown and the other insignia of power, was placed next to Romulus whenever he was giving official approval to anything, so that they would seem to be ruling equally. From this comes "Quirinus will give laws together with his brother Remus.")

In Servius' story the notion of a joint rule can be seen as an act of expiation, or as a fraud, a sham reconciliation. The idea of

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a false reconciliation fits Vergil's hopeful but uncertain prophecy of idyllic peace.⁶⁷

Troianus Caesar Iulius

At 1.286–96 Jupiter predicts to Venus the coming of someone named Iulius Caesar, whom Venus will receive in heaven, laden with the spoils of Eastern conquests, and after whose deification a new age of peace will reign:

nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar,
imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris,
Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo.
hunc tu olim caelo spoliis Orientis onustum
accipies segura; vocabitur hic quoque votis.
aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis:
cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis
claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus
saeva sedens super arma et centum victus aënis
post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.

(286–96)

(A Trojan Caesar will be born, of splendid ancestry,
whose reign will end at Ocean, whose fame at the stars,
Julius, a name handed down from great Iulus. Him at
some time you, without worry, will receive in heaven,

⁶⁷ Trencsényi-Waldapfel (1961) 287n.1 denies the relevance of Servius' story for interpretation of 292–93; Wagenvoort (1956) 177 says, "It is a pity we cannot discover who invented this: it certainly came out of the heads of the senate-party."

If one were to look for allegory, one might think of the appointment of M. Tullius Cicero, "the dissolute and irascible son of the great orator" (Syme [1939] 303) as cos. suff. in 30 with Octavian, who had consented to the proscription of his father.

Bacon (1986) 313 notes the problem of 292–93 and says that events such as the reconciliation of the twins will occur not in this world but in the world of the spirit.

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loaded with the spoils of the East; he too will be called in prayers. Then the harsh ages will put aside wars and grow gentler: hoary Faith and Vesta, and Quirinus with his brother Remus will give laws; the dreadful gates of War will be closed with iron and tight bonds; within unholy Madness, sitting over fierce arms and bound with a hundred bronze chains behind its back, will roar, horrible with bloody mouth.)

It is hard to overstate the importance and impact of this passage as an eloquent symbolic representation of both the end of the civil wars and the Roman people's hope that the consolidation of power in the hands of Octavian would bring about a new order of peace and justice.⁶⁸ It is odd, however, that a passage of such significance has been constructed so that its opening lines, 286–90, would inevitably be the source of endless critical disagreement. Scholars have long argued about whether these verses refer to Julius Caesar the dictator or to his grandnephew Augustus, who by adoption became a C. Julius Caesar. There are good arguments for and problems with each view;⁶⁹ I focus on three elements: the name *Iulius Caesar*, the reference in 289 to *spolia Orientis*, and the prediction in 291–96 that a new, gentler age will follow the apotheosis of this Caesar.

The name Iulius Caesar would more naturally suggest the dictator, and would be an almost unparalleled way of designating the emperor Augustus. Upon his adoption in 44 B.C., C. Octavius Thurinus became C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus, and for the next few years is known as C. Iulius Caesar, “spurning the ‘Octavianus’ that would have perpetuated the memory of his real parentage.”⁷⁰ By 38 B.C., however, he has

⁶⁸ Cf., e.g., G. Williams (1968) 426–28, and Austin (1971) *ad loc.*

⁶⁹ A summary is given in Austin (1971) *ad* 286ff., who suggests that this is “a case of deliberate Virgilian ambiguity,” but in his later note *ad* 6.788 is “now less inclined to take [1.286] as an allusion to Iulius.” Extensive references at Basson (1975) 28n.73.

⁷⁰ Syme (1979) 365; cf. also *RE* 10 s.v. “Iulius” 132, col. 275–76 (Seeck), and Deininger (1972) 994–95.

dropped the *nomen gentilicium* Iulius, and uses the *cognomen* Caesar as a *nomen*, calling himself simply *Imp(erator) Caesar* or *Imp(erator) d(ivi) f(ilius) Caesar* until 27 B.C.⁷¹ Then the new *cognomen* Augustus is added, and “ ‘Imperator Caesar Augustus’ is his complete and official designation.”⁷² The name Iulius remains for the house, but not, it seems, for the man; neither the commentators who simply say that “he was Iulius by adoption,” nor Syme’s article on Augustus’ nomenclature, nor Seeck’s *Real-Encyclopädie* article on Augustus, cite examples of Octavian/Augustus being referred to as *Iulius* Caesar after 38 B.C. Thus lines 286–88 seem clearly to refer to Julius, but could possibly apply to Augustus.

These lines are followed, however, by two lines which seem most probably to refer to Augustus, although they could possibly describe Julius:

hunc tu olim caelo spoliis Orientis onustum
accipies segura; vocabitur hic quoque votis.

(289–90)

(Him at some time you, without worry, will receive in heaven, loaded with the spoils of the East; he too will be called in prayers.)

Taken in isolation, these lines would clearly refer to Augustus, because the mention of “Eastern spoils” would suggest the victory over the Parthians announced in 20 B.C., as well as his victories against Eastern peoples in the battle of Actium and soon after.⁷³ But the lines do not occur in isolation, and the apparent reference to Julius in 286–88 might suggest that 289–

⁷¹ Syme (1979) 365; Seeck (previous note) *RE* col. 275–76. Seeck suggests that as part of his efforts, “um sich gerade durch das, was das Persönlichste ist, über alle anderen Sterblichen zu erheben,” he dropped the *nomen*, “weil er es mit allen Freigelassenen des julischen Geschlechtes teilte.” This must be supplemented by Syme’s description of the social context, and of the fashionableness of dropping the *nomen* and featuring the *cognomen*.

⁷² Syme (1979) 372.

⁷³ Cf. Austin (1971).

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90 refer to Julius' apotheosis (*hunc tu olim caelo . . . accipies*), cult (*vocabitur hic quoque votis*) and limited Eastern victories (*spoliis Orientis onustum*). Caesar celebrated triumphs for his victories over Alexandria in 48 B.C. and over Pharnaces in Pontus in 47 B.C. (the famous *veni, vidi, vici* campaign).⁷⁴ Ovid refers to Julius' Eastern victories at *Metamorphoses* 15.755–56: *Mithridateisque tumentem/ nominibus Pontum populo adiecisse Quirini* ("and he annexed Pontus for the people of Romulus, Pontus priding itself in the name of Mithridates").⁷⁵ But would these victories provide "Eastern spoils"? Cicero's use of the word *Oriens* is instructive here. In the peroration to the *Pro Murena*, he asks whether it would be right to send Murena to the Orient (*ad Orientis partis*), where for many years he had served as a legate, and had commanded an army.⁷⁶ L. Licinius Murena, the consul of 62 B.C., served in the 70s as legate to Lucullus in his wars against Mithridates in Asia (Asia Minor), Bithynia, and Pontus.⁷⁷ So *spolia Orientis* could conceivably refer to Caesar's triumph over Pontus; this would be somewhat of an exaggeration, but would not be surprising either in a speech praising the Julians or in a prophecy in the *Aeneid*. So Vergil might expect that some readers would start by thinking that 286–88 refer to Julius, and then decide because of the *spolia Orientis* that 286–90 describe Augustus; others would think that both 286–88 and 289–90 refer to Julius (who after all was the only Roman for seven hundred years to have been "received in heaven" and "called by prayers"), and would expect the reference to Augustus to come next.

What in fact comes after these lines which could describe either Julius or Augustus are lines which fit neither, beginning with 291: *aspera tum positae mitescent saecula bellis* ("Then the harsh ages will put aside wars and grow gentler"). If the man in 286–90 is Julius, then Jupiter is saying that his deification

⁷⁴ Cf. *ibid.*

⁷⁵ Cited by Kenney (1968) 105–7.

⁷⁶ *Mur.* 89: *Ibit igitur in exsilium miser? Quo? ad Orientisne partis in quibus annos multos legatus fuit, exercitus duxit, res maximas gessit?*

⁷⁷ See *Mur.* 20, 34; Gruen (1974), index nominum s.v.

was followed by a new age of peace, instead of the unforgettable decade and a half of intermittent civil warfare. There was nothing even incipiently gentle about Perugia, Philippi, the sea battles against Sextus Pompey, or Actium, and nothing about Caesar's death or the events that followed it that would make Venus *secura* ("free from worry") as she received him in heaven.⁷⁸ If 289–90 refer to Augustus' future apotheosis, then the age of peace is dated after his death. Note especially 291 *aspera tum* . . . ; Vergil did not have to say *tum*, "then" (e.g., he could have written *aspera depositis mitescent saecula bellis*⁷⁹). This is particularly important for features of 291–96 that are not merely symbolic but are also tied to specific historical events, such as the closing of the Gates of War, for Augustus had closed the doors of the temple of Janus in 29 B.C. after Actium, and again in 25 B.C. after the Spanish Wars.⁸⁰ Similarly, the chaining of *Furor impius* in 294–96 cannot refer to a universal peace to come after Augustus' death, for *Furor impius* surely must symbolize civil war, and in 19 B.C. Vergil can hardly say that civil war is to be ended some time in the future, after Augustus' apotheosis.

Scholars have been inclined to ask, "Which of these two men is Vergil more likely to have meant?" and then to weigh the evidence and come up with an answer. This is the wrong

⁷⁸ Further, if this man is or almost is Julius, it is interesting, given what Jupiter says of Aeneas' apotheosis, to note that Jupiter simply speaks of Venus receiving the man in heaven, without mentioning that he was murdered by his friends.

⁷⁹ Cf. Ovid *Met.* 14. 571–72: *deponendique pudore/ bella gerunt*.

The question of whether the new age is to come with or after Augustus is not an artificial one: it is the point of a joke about Tiberius: *auria mutasti Saturni saecula, Caesar, / incolumi nam te ferrea semper erunt* (Suet. *Tib.* 59 = FPL Morel p. 123, Büchner p. 155) and perhaps one about Nero: Lucan repeats Vergil's *tum* in his description of Nero's apotheosis at 1.60 (*tum genus humanum positus sibi consulat armis*), in the proem thought by some ancients and moderns to be satirical. See Johnson (1987) 121–22: "When Nero is a god, peace will come to the earth, because of his cosmic beneficence (or because, until he leaves the earth, the earth can have no peace)."

⁸⁰ Cf. Austin (1964) *ad* 2.293–94. with references, and *Res Gestae* 13, with the notes of Brunt and Moore (1967).

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question. The real question is, why has Vergil not been clear on such an important point? What is he doing? Vergil was certainly capable of referring unambiguously to Augustus, or to Julius, yet chose to be vague, even puzzling. A good poet does not cultivate ambiguity for its own sake, but expresses himself ambiguously only when it suits his poetic goals.⁸¹ This ambiguity reflects both the poetic goals of Vergil and the rhetorical goals of Jupiter here: Jupiter describes for Venus neither Julius nor Augustus, but a combination of the two, virtually a riddle for the reader.

The technique here is one that Vergil uses elsewhere; a recent study of Vergil's parade of heroes in the underworld in Book 6 demonstrates that there "Vergil is often studiously vague about which members of a family we are meant to see behind the name" in his references to, e.g., Drusi at 6.824, and Gracchi and Scipiones in 842–43.⁸² These confusions and "riddles" serve to emphasize the continuity of the various *gentes*, and are "part of a process whereby the entire panegyric [in Book 6] receives extensive qualification." The technique is also used by Vergil in the *Georgics* and by Horace in *Odes*

⁸¹ Cf. Thomas (1982) 48 on the pointed ambiguity of *Geo.* 2.172: "It seems a curious failing that at this point, the very climax of the *laudes Italiae*, a poet such as Virgil should fail so dismally to express himself clearly. . . . Had Virgil wished to do so, he was quite capable of unambiguously [saying what he meant]."

Cf. Kinsey (1981) 27 on the "trick" here (he claims that the Iulius is Augustus): "The epithet *Troianus* is more far-fetched than Venus can realize, and the connection of Augustus with the *gens Iulia* is more tenuous than she is being led to believe. It would be reasonable for her to infer from the name direct descent in the male line, whereas as the son of Julius Caesar's sister's daughter Augustus was only entitled to it by adoption."

On interpreting, rather than attempting to resolve, ambiguities in Milton and in literature generally, see Fish (1976) 465–85. Block (1981) applies Fish's methods to the *Aeneid*, but not to this passage. Batstone (1988) describes "readers' provisional syntactic and lexical assumptions" in some passages in the *Georgics*.

⁸² Feeney (1986) 1–24, quotations from 5, 6. Feeney notes that Ahl (1976) 140–44 first noticed some of these details.

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1.12.⁸³ At *Aeneid* 1.286ff. Vergil's deliberate ambiguity is even more suggestive than in the underworld or in the *Georgics*. Venus hears of an unreservedly positive Trojan Caesar, but the riddle of the description of the man forces the reader to think about both the bloody civil wars before and after Julius' death, and the similarities between Julius and Augustus. It is unusual for an Augustan poet to mention Julius Caesar, and more unusual still to do so in a way that stresses the similarity between Augustus and Julius: "On the whole, better to say nothing of Caesar, or for that matter of Antonius, save as criminal types. The power and domination of Augustus was in reality far too similar to that of the Dictator to stand even a casual reminder, let alone pointed and genuine comparison."⁸⁴ An ambiguous prophecy that could refer either to Julius or to Augustus is more than a reminder—it is a demonstration of their similarity. To Venus, Jupiter's words are simple, clear, glorious, reassuring; to the reader they ostensibly celebrate the end of civil war, but are also problematical, troubling, and ambiguous. The apotheosis of Caesar was not followed by a new age of peace, as some of the assassins perhaps naively thought it would. If the apotheosis (i.e., death) of Augustus had occurred in 23 B.C. (as it very nearly did when Augustus fell seriously ill), or were to occur soon after 19 B.C., it is not clear that the age would have been any more peaceful than the years after Julius' death. Could Marcus Agrippa hold the world together, as Marcus Antonius had not? Would some member of the emperor's family make a claim, as the young Octavian had? Would the Senatorial class try to reassert power? The ambiguous description of a *Caesar* undercuts the passage's explicit prediction of peace and concord.

Close reading of Jupiter's prophecy is disquieting. If Jupiter is falsely encouraging Venus on these points, if he is misleading her about Aeneas, about the contribution of Troy to Rome, about Ascanius and Silvius, about Juno, about Rom-

⁸³ Feeney (1986) 5-6.

⁸⁴ Syme (1939) 318.

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ulus, and about Julius and Augustus, what implications does this have for Vergil's confidence about the *imperium sine fine*, and the permanent end to the civil wars, and all the goals for which Aeneas is fighting?⁸⁵ What happens to the encouragement that Vergil is giving the reader? The previous chapter considered the view that falsely optimistic prophecies might be given to Aeneas for his own good, because he needs to be encouraged to continue and would be unable to face the truth about the hardships that lie ahead. Chapters 1 and 3 cited Liebeschuetz' probing analysis of the role of divination in Roman life: he describes the benefits for the Roman state of keeping the common people calm and confident by the prudent handling of state divination, in which "the diviners scanned the state of relations between the gods and Rome and provided reassurance that the 'peace of the gods' was being maintained, or at least restored."⁸⁶ Perhaps Aeneas needed to be encouraged, and the plebs needed to be kept calm and confident. But the *Aeneid* ultimately puts the reader in the same position as the characters in the story who receive deceptively optimistic prophecies: all the optimism, all the hope, all the Augustan

⁸⁵ Cf. Wiesen (1973) 761–64 on "whether this Golden Age will not inevitably decline, as earlier ones had." He notes that Jupiter's promise of endless empire is not repeated in the prophecy of Anchises or on the shield of Aeneas, and cites Lovejoy and Boas on the failure of "the primitivist reformer" to see that "if man as he came from the hand of God and nature was so constituted that he inevitably lapsed from his natural and best state, was it not likely that, if restored to it, he would lapse again?"

Venus has her doubts: she substitutes Cupid for Ascanius because she is again worried about Aeneas (1.661–62). This is not a narrative flaw, but a realistic portrayal of the limited and temporary effect on Venus of Jupiter's encouragement. See Stahl (1969) 346–66. Stahl, however, faults Venus for not trusting Jupiter: "offensichtlich wird der objektive Gehalt von Jupiters Aussage (= *Fata*) durch Venus subjektiv ausgelegt (= *Versprechen*)." But Jupiter's prophecy is quite subjective. The experience of Venus is like that of Aeneas, who repeatedly becomes discouraged despite prophetic assurances. This is not a flaw of the hero or the poet; rather it is part of the emotional peaks and valleys of the life of a man who receives bright, reassuring prophecies but has to live in a darker, grimmer world.

⁸⁶ Liebeschuetz (1979); cf. chap. 3 at nn. 61–63.

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propaganda that is put into prophecy form is called into question. The truth about the possibility of collapse, of decline, of continued struggles and suffering and disappointment, is as hard to face for the reader as the truth about his world would be for Aeneas. The experience of the reader, struggling with the conflict between the poem's surface optimism and its less explicit but unmistakable anxieties and darker undertones, closely parallels both the experience of the characters within the poem who must deal with prophecies brighter than the world in which they live, and that of the Romans of Vergil's day, who had lived through decades of civil strife and broken promises.⁸⁷

ANCHISES AND AENEAS AND THE PARADE OF HEROES

In the underworld, Aeneas' father Anchises identifies for him the souls of their descendants and other great Romans of the future, and tells him of the role they will play in the historical process that will culminate with Augustus' reestablishment of

⁸⁷ Cf. also Feeney (1986) 16, on Vergil's underworld: "When [Vergil] denies his poem and his audience the beauty and the consolation of the myths of philosophy, immortality, and redemption, this formal and aesthetic exclusion mirrors and recreates the exclusion which is the lot of the chief character in the poem, and of the poem's audience in the world."

One way of objecting to my reading of the prophecies of Rome is to argue that, once darker undertones have been detected, optimistic readings may be neatly discarded, or that although the prophecies of Rome may deceive characters within the poem, they should not deceive competent readers. The important distinction should indeed be made between misreadings encouraged by the text, and bad readings produced by our distance from Vergil's time or other factors. And I do not argue that all readings are equally valid, or that interpretation should be built upon silly misreadings. But the potential for initial and even lingering misreading is an important feature of Jupiter's prophecy, and many other passages. Cf. Fish in Tompkins (1980) 86, on initially ambiguous sentences: "The temporary adoption of these inappropriate strategies is itself a response to the strategy of the author; and the resulting mistakes are part of the experience provided by that author's language, and therefore part of its meaning."

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a Golden Age in Latium (6.752–853). In chapter 3 I discussed the apparent deceptiveness of Anchises' prophecy of long life to Aeneas at 6.760–66. Consideration of the rhetorical goals of the whole prophecy of Anchises to Aeneas provides a rewarding context in which to view several other aspects of this scene: the subtle undercutting of the optimism of the Parade of Heroes that scholars have recently identified, the lament for Marcellus with which Anchises concludes his address to Aeneas, and the gates of sleep through which Aeneas leaves the underworld. Although these passages resist conclusive interpretation, recent scholarship has identified many of the ambiguities, suggestions, and shades of meaning offered by Vergil's presentation of Anchises' speech. Still, some scholars continue to argue that Vergil did not mean to say or suggest what he seems to be saying or suggesting. Pessimistic interpretations, they say, of the lament for Marcellus or Aeneas' exit through the gate of false dreams are anachronistic, and too skeptical. But the idea that the future is generally less bright than is predicted in prophecies is quintessentially Vergilian: in this prophecy as in others, Vergil presents both the hope that things will be better under Augustus, and his deep fear and worry that this is only an illusion.

The Parade of Heroes

Norden's detailed rhetorical analysis of the speech of Anchises has shown that one purpose of Anchises' words is to encourage Aeneas and steel him for continued perseverance.⁸⁸ At 6.716–18, Anchises tells Aeneas why he wants to describe for him their descendants:

has (*sc. animas*) equidem memorare tibi atque ostendere
coram
iampridem, hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum,
quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta.

⁸⁸ See Norden (1957) 312–46, esp. 312–17; Norden (1966) 422–36; Feeney (1986) 1; and Horsfall (1976) 84 (with bibliography in n. 102).

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(Long have I wished to describe and show to you these souls, and list the offspring of my race, so that you will more rejoice with me at finding Italy.)

Aeneas' reply provides the typical description of the mood of the recipient of a prophecy: he asks what *dira cupido* could make men want to go through life again (719–21).⁸⁹ After the lines predicting and praising Augustus, Anchises says that there is no cause for doubt or fear:

et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extendere factis,
aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra?
(6.806–7)⁹⁰

(And do we still hesitate to extend virtue in deeds, or does fear prevent the settlement in Ausonian land?)

After the speech, Vergil describes Anchises' words to Aeneas in this way:

Anchises natum per singula duxit
incenditque animum famae venientis amore. . . .
(6.888–89)

(Anchises led his son through each of these, and fired his mind with desire for future glory. . . .)

These passages are hardly proof that the prophecy of Anchises is in any way deceptive, but like Jupiter's statement to Venus that he is telling her about the future in order to assuage her worries, they are clues that this is another occasion for rhetorical falsehoods and hollow encouragement.

⁸⁹ On the pessimism of these lines, see, e.g., G. Williams (1983) 207–8, Boyle (1972) 140, and Feeney (1986) 2–4.

⁹⁰ Austin (1977) *ad loc.* notes the close parallel in most manuscripts at *Geo.* 2.433: *et dubitant homines serere atque impendere curam?* But Ribbeck is probably right to reject that line, which is omitted by the manuscript M, and seems not to fit the context.

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The encouragement of Aeneas by Anchises in the Parade of Heroes is in fact undercut and questioned by numerous details of Vergil's presentation. A bare list of a few of these features will suffice here; I lean heavily on recent scholarship, especially an important article by D. C. Feeney, which should be consulted for details.⁹¹

1. The philosophical doctrines expounded by Anchises directly before the Parade (724–51) stress an otherworldliness that is in conflict with Anchises' subsequent exhortation to seek glory through earthly achievements.⁹²

2. The towns that Anchises says at 773–76 will one day be famous have, by Vergil's day, either vanished completely or fallen into decline.

3. The description of Romulus at 771–81 carries some suggestions of the fratricide.

4. The theme of the continuing strength of the Roman *gentes* is important to the speech, yet is undercut by several examples of decline, of "sons falling short of their fathers' standards."⁹³

5. Along with the overt references to the conflict between Julius Caesar and Pompey, the speech at least calls to mind such problematic figures of the previous twenty years as the assassin Brutus, Cato Uticensis, and the Scipio who commanded the Republican forces defeated by Caesar in the Thapsus campaign of 46 B.C.

Anchises' speech to Aeneas speaks more honestly than most prophecies of the difficulties that the future will bring. But the gap between what Aeneas can understand and what the reader is reminded of is considerable, and important. The Roman reader shares the perspective of Aeneas in terms of the Ro-

⁹¹ Cf. Feeney (1986), Tarrant (1982), Mack (1978) 69–72, Burke (1979), Griffin (1986) 169–70, and Clausen (1966) 75–88.

⁹² Cf. Feeney (1986), Tarrant (1982); cf. also the ideas of Bacon (1986) 305–34.

⁹³ Feeney (1986) 12.

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man's pride in his history, and his hope for the future under Augustus. But the reader's ability to reflect, to reread, and to understand and ponder Vergil's allusions in the light of Roman history, makes this prophetic speech, like that of Jupiter to Venus, ultimately disquieting and disturbing.

Marcellus

After Anchises' proud summation of the noble ideals of the Roman state (*excellent alii* . . . 6.847–53), he appends a reference to M. Claudius Marcellus, military hero of the Second Punic War (855–59). Anchises stops here, and for the first time during the catalogue Aeneas asks a question, inquiring about the young man next to Marcellus. The man is C. Claudius Marcellus, Augustus' nephew and the husband of his only daughter. Marcellus' death in 23 B.C. in his twentieth year apparently shattered Augustus' plans to make this talented young man his heir and set up a dynastic line of his own blood.⁹⁴ By their structure, both Vergil's introductory words and Aeneas' question stress the mix of promise and ill omen in Marcellus: both say that the boy's appearance is outstanding, but that the stern expression on his face and the black shadow about his head seem disturbingly inauspicious (860–66).⁹⁵ Here, unlike in the rest of the poem, Aeneas himself can glimpse the darker side of an optimistic future. Crying, Anchises tells his son about the boy:

o gnatē, ingentem luctum ne quaere tuorum;
ostendent terris hunc tantum fata nec ultra
esse sinent. nimium vobis Romana propago
visa potens, superi, propria haec si dona fuissent. . . .
heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas—⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Cf. Austin (1977) *ad* 6.868, who gives ancient references on Marcellus.

⁹⁵ On these lines cf. Servius and Austin (1977) *ad loc.*, von Albrecht (1967) 171, and Christmann (1976) 270 and n.46.

⁹⁶ After *rumpas* Mynors has a comma, Austin an exclamation point; see Bailey (1986) 199–205.

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tu Marcellus eris. manibus date lilia plenis
purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis
his saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
munere.

(868–71, 882–86)

(Oh son, do not ask about your people's great sorrow; the fates will only show this one to earth, to be no longer. The Roman progeny would seem too strong to you, gods, if it could keep this gift. . . . Alas, pitiable boy, if only you could overcome harsh fate—you will be Marcellus. With generous hand let me spread lilies and purple flowers and for the soul of my descendant pile up at least these gifts, and perform this useless service.)

This speech has been the subject of much discussion, with predictable critical disagreement about the nuances of tone. Some see the passage as a slow descent from the exaltation of 847–53; others, more realistically, see it as severely qualifying or destroying the optimism of the preceding prophecy.⁹⁷ A few, remarkably, find ways to see even this passage as largely optimistic, saying for example that the death of Marcellus fully satisfies the *invidia divum* that might otherwise have troubled Augustan Rome.⁹⁸ This passage may seem to be an exception to the pattern of deaths omitted from optimistic prophecies, but it is the exception that proves the rule. Anchises does indeed give an optimistic prophecy omitting the death of Marcellus, for he stops after mentioning the elder Marcellus, and Aeneas must specifically ask about this obviously ill-starred young man. Anchises is the only prophet in the poem to an-

⁹⁷ Burke (1979) 228n.36 surveys the views of Austin and R. D. Williams, Johnson (1976) 107–11, and others; more recently G. Williams (1983) 214 says the passage shows that “the future beyond Augustus has collapsed.” See also Petrini (1987) chap. 5.

⁹⁸ von Albrecht (1967) 180–82. Cf. also Otis (1963) 303–4.

swer a recipient's follow-up question after a prophecy,⁹⁹ and even he shows the desire of the Vergilian prophet or oracle to suppress the bad side of things, for he tells Aeneas, "Oh son, don't ask about your people's great sorrow" (*o gnate, ingentem luctum ne quaere tuorum* 868).¹⁰⁰ This ending to the Parade of Heroes also picks up the theme of the continuity of the *gens* that has been important throughout the speech. With the lament for Marcellus the possibility is raised that the *gens* of the emperor will not carry on, that Augustus will not be like Aeneas, the Silvii, the Bruti, the Drusi, and the Scipiones, whose families carried on their traditions. He may instead come to resemble an Alexander—to whom the description of Augustus in the underworld implicitly compares him—whose death without a clear heir led to the kind of struggle for power that might well have attended an early death of Augustus.¹⁰¹ The reference to the apotheosis of the "Caesar" in Jupiter's prophecy to Venus in Book 1 was marked by disturbing reminders that peace did not follow the apotheosis of Julius, and was not likely to follow the death of Augustus. The lament for Mar-

⁹⁹ For follow-up questions after prophecies, cf. Herod. 1.91, Aesch. *Prom.* 816–17, Thuc. 1.126.4, Apollod. 2.8.2, and Rusten (1985) 139 on the Derveni Orphic Papyrus. For a follow-up question preempted by a night vision in the *Aeneid*, cf. 3.143–55.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Aeneas' words to Evander after the portents in the sky: *ne vero, hospes, ne quaere profecto/ quem casum portenta ferant. . . .* (8.532–33) (see chap. 1). See Boyle (1972) 122–33 on the attempts of Anchises and others to "distract" Aeneas from reflection on the darker side of things.

The crushing of the bright hope of youth in the deaths of Pallas, Marcellus, and others, is analogous to the disappointment of optimistic prophecies that go unfulfilled or somehow deceive. Cf. Petrini (1987), esp. chaps. 5 and 6.

¹⁰¹ For the comparison of Augustus to Alexander, see Norden (1966) 422–36. For the Romans' awareness of the problems caused by Alexander's lack of an heir, see Lucan 10.43–45: *qui secum invidia, quo totum ceperat orbem,/ abstulit imperium, nulloque herede relicto/ totius fati lacerandas praebuit urbes*. In Vergil's time Cornelius Nepos noted the parallel between the struggles after the deaths of Alexander and Julius: *Eum. 8.2–3: illa phalanx Alexandri Magni . . . non parere se ducibus, sed imperare postulabant, ut nunc veterani faciunt nostri. itaque periculum est ne faciant quod illi fecerunt. . . . quod si quis illorum legat facta, paria horum cognoscat neque rem ullam nisi tempus interesse iudicet*. Cf. Syme (1939) 250.

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cellus expresses these concerns more openly, and makes overt here what is latent elsewhere. This study is in a sense an attempt to show that the allusive depths of many of the other prophecies in the *Aeneid* contain the same darkness and shadow that the Marcellus-lament casts over the prophecy of future Roman heroes.

False Dreams

Vergil, following Penelope's description of the Gates of Dreams at *Odyssey* 19.562–67, says that there are two gates of sleep:

Sunt geminae Somni portae, quarum altera fertur
cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris,
altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes.

(6.893–96)

(There are two gates of Sleep, of which one is said to be of horn, and through it easy exit given to true shades; the other shines, fashioned of gleaming ivory, but the Spirits send false dreams to the upper air.)

Through the gate of horn go *verae umbrae*; through the gate of ivory are sent *falsa insomnia*. The Latin words *falsa insomnia* can literally mean nothing other than dreams or dream apparitions that bear false messages.¹⁰² When Anchises is finished talking

¹⁰² It has been suggested that *falsa insomnia* refers to the type of dream that “cannot, like a ‘true dream,’ come true in the form in which it is told by the poet” (Thornton [1976] 61–69, quotation from 61), but for which “interpretation is needed” (G. Williams [1983] 48). It seems unlikely that the word *falsus* could be used of a dream that is symbolic but has a true message. Penelope's dream about the geese in the *Odyssey*, for example, would surely be called a true dream. The claim that Vergil has Aeneas go through the gate of false dreams only because he is not a genuine dream is also unpersuasive. It is misguided to try to deal with Vergil's ambiguity by searching for a meaning that will not be disturbing, and then arbitrarily excluding other suggestions. See the excellent comments on this passage by Newman (1967) 234–35.

to Aeneas in the underworld, he sends Aeneas and the Sibyl back through the gate of false dreams (6.897–99). Clearly, “the position of these lines makes it likely . . . that they bear on Aeneas’ journey through the Underworld and in some way clarify its significance.”¹⁰³ Enormous critical energy and ingenuity has been expended in attempts to prove that the exit of Aeneas through the gate of false dreams does not carry any suggestion that some of what Aeneas has been told in the underworld might not be true.¹⁰⁴ Such efforts would be warranted only if that suggestion were somehow inconsistent with Vergil’s ideas or with his methods of presenting ideas. Instead, the intimation that Anchises’ prophecy might paint a picture of the future that for rhetorical purposes is more optimistic than truthful, is neither surprising nor problematic: with the Gates of Sleep, Vergil brings Anchises’ prophecy more closely in line with the other overly optimistic prophecies.

Some have protested that “it seems impossible to go directly from Virgil’s *falsa insomnia* (especially as part of a pair with *verae umbrae*) to our ‘false dreams’ in the sense of unattainable hopes or ambitions.”¹⁰⁵ But this is precisely what is meant by the deceptive dreams that go through the gates of ivory in the *Odyssey* passage.¹⁰⁶ Penelope has dreamed that her husband will come home and kill the suitors, but she thinks that her dream has come from the gates of ivory—that her hopes are unrealistic, and unattainable. So too Vergil suggests that some of what Anchises tells Aeneas about his future and Rome’s are unattainable hopes. The clearest example of this is the prediction, discussed in the previous chapter, that Aeneas

The word *sed* in 6.896 demands a contrast between 895 and 896 (as Austin notes) such as “shining, but deceptive,” not “shining but only true if you interpret them correctly.”

¹⁰³ Tarrant (1982) 52–53, with more arguments that the lines must be making more than a trivial point; cf. also Clausen (1964) 146–47.

¹⁰⁴ Extensive references in Christmann (1976) 251–58; see also my last two notes and Gotoff (1985).

¹⁰⁵ Tarrant (1982) 53.

¹⁰⁶ Tarrant does not mention the Homeric passage.

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will live to be an old man; the rest of the prophecy must also be a combination of truth (some literal, some poetic) with hope, fantasy, and deception.¹⁰⁷

Others may still object that Vergil could not suggest that what Aeneas learns in the underworld could be false because the underworld includes such honest confrontations of the darker side of life as the references to the Brutus who had to kill his sons, to the civil wars between Julius and Pompey, and to the early death of Marcellus.¹⁰⁸ Anchises' prophecy is indeed more honest than most, but we have seen other prophecies that give some warning of struggle or grief, but also deceptive assurances of ultimate success.¹⁰⁹ Critics who see in Vergil's underworld the combination of a "sense of the evanescence of mortal aspirations" with "an equally strong feeling that the mission of Aeneas will have a permanent and beneficent influence on human history,"¹¹⁰ have identified precisely the message that Anchises has for Aeneas—the idea that all his struggles are worth the effort. In this prophecy as in the other prophecies of Rome, Vergil gives eloquent voice to his people's hope that the civil wars of the last decades would not be repeated, that Rome would prosper under Augustus, and that life would somehow be better than it had ever been before. But close reading of Vergil's prophecies shows his painful awareness—which the shrewd Augustus may have shared—that this could be just an illusion, just a fantasy (like the other more obvious fantasies in Augustan poetry), just a false dream.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. the Roman ideas about the deceptiveness of historiography discussed by Wiseman (1979) 3–53.

¹⁰⁸ Gotoff (1985) 35–40.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. again Aeneas' words about the death of Anchises: *nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret, / hos mihi praedixit luctus* (3.712–13); these could be applied to several prophecies in the poem.

¹¹⁰ Tarrant (1982) 54. Tarrant argues that the Platonic doctrines explained by Anchises at 6.730–34 show that the falseness of the gates of ivory suggests the weaknesses of Aeneas' corporeal existence. This is a valuable observation, but this interpretation cannot exclude the suggestion that what Anchises says to Aeneas might be false: again I cite Newman (1967) 234–35.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER FOUR

THE SHIELD OF AENEAS

At. 8.626–731, Vergil describes the shield of Aeneas, on which Vulcan has carved “Italian history and the triumphs of the Romans” (*res Italas Romanorumque triumphos*, 8.626). The shield offers a major prophecy of Rome not treated in this chapter, in part because an approach that examines the dramatic, rhetorical goals of a prophecy in terms of speaker and audience finds little to work with in the shield. Dramatically, the prophecy on Vulcan’s shield speaks directly to no one in the poem: it speaks to Aeneas only through its beauty, and he would have been equally pleased with, say, the shield of Achilles. The shield speaks only to the Romans, or to us.¹¹¹ What does it say? Clearly, the shield glorifies the victory of Augustus Caesar over foreign enemies at the battle of Actium. The connection between the shield and the *Aeneid*’s prophecies is made explicit at the beginning of the description, for Vulcan is said to have been “not ignorant of [the ways of] prophets or uninformed about the age to come” (*haud vatū ignarus venturique inscius aevi* 8.627). After Vergil’s treatment of the prophecies of Jupiter in Book 1 and Anchises in Book 6, one might expect that the shield’s “prophecy” will be undercut by details calling attention to its deceptiveness, but this does not happen.¹¹² The message of the shield is undercut only elusively, if at all, by its own simplistic moralizing, and by its very status as a prophecy in the *Aeneid*.

The shield presents a simple world in which determinations

¹¹¹ On the shield, see Wiesen (1973) 760–65, Lyne (1987) 207–9, Clausen (1987) 76–82, Mack (1978) 72–75, and Hardie (1986) chap. 8, who gives further references.

¹¹² Edgeworth (1986) argues that the *limen* on which Augustus sits at 8.720–21 is “sinister” and foreboding, but I am not convinced. Many have discussed disturbing or problematic aspects of the shield; these are different from details that would undercut the likelihood of the shield prophecy being true.

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of right and wrong are much easier than in the rest of the *Aeneid*. In most of the episodes described, the distinction between Roman and enemy and between good and evil is clear: the Romans punish the treacherous Mettus (642–45), fight for *libertas* against Tarquin (648), and defend the Capitol against the Gauls (652–62). In the brief picture of the underworld, Vergil's choice of words draws attention to how good and evil are easily separated (*secretosque pios*, 670), with Cato and Catiline typifying each group. Then the battle of Actium is present not as a civil war between two Roman dynasts, but as a cosmic struggle between East and West, Roman and Egyptian. The shield is propaganda, presenting the distorted, victor's version of the struggle between Antony and Octavian.¹¹³ The rest of the *Aeneid* does not depict right and wrong so simplistically: no matter how ceaselessly some scholars may toil to castigate Turnus and justify Aeneas, or even (more recently) to praise Turnus and condemn Aeneas, the war in Latium is pictured with much greater moral complexity than attends the shield's depiction of the battle of Actium. Only in another section of Book 8, the old man Evander's simple tale of a good man, Hercules, fighting a totally bad man, Cacus, do we find such simple moralizing as in the shield's depiction of Actium.¹¹⁴

This kind of reading of the shield, however, is open to a charge of subjectivity: the undercutting of the prophecies of Jupiter and Anchises can be demonstrated much more objectively. Their deceptiveness, however, helps set the stage for a reading of the shield: when a reader reaches the shield of Aeneas, he or she has already learned from the prophecies of Jupiter and Anchises and from numerous other predictions in the poem of the tendency for prophecies to deceive. The problem here is somewhat like that of determining what Vergil is

¹¹³ See Syme (1939) 270–75, 289–312. Reading the description of the shield, it is easy to forget that in 32 B.C. both consuls and over three hundred senators fled to Antony.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Petrini (1987) chap. 4, "Pallas."

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suggesting about the death of Aeneas: there is no room for certainty. Certain elements of the presentation of the shield encourage skepticism, but the evidence is not conclusive. The reader may accept the picture he or she is given, or may decide that it is deceptive.

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Vergil as Poet-Prophet of the *Aeneid*

Forty-four lines after Aeneas leaves the underworld through the ivory gates associated with false dreams, Vergil does something he had never done before, and would not do again. He calls himself a *vates*, a “poet-prophet”:

Nunc age, qui reges, Erato, quae tempora rerum,
quis Latio antiquo fuerit status, advena classem
cum primum Ausoniis exercitus appulit oris,
expediam, et primae revocabo exordia pugnae.
tu vatem, tu, diva, mone. dicam horrida bella. . . .
(7.37–41)

(Now come, Erato, the kings, the historical situation, and the condition of old Latium, when the foreign army first drove its fleet to the shores of Ausonia, I shall explain, and recall the very beginnings of battle. You, goddess, remind the poet-prophet. I shall tell of horrid wars. . . .)

Even before explicitly calling himself a *vates* here, Vergil has implicitly likened his role as poet of the *Aeneid* to that of the prophet, by the way that he puts the reader in the position of the characters who receive deceptive prophecies, and thus challenges the reader to consider both whether the message of the prophecies of Rome is the message of the poem, and whether that message is true. I have argued in this study that it is inadequate to equate the point of view of the prophecies of Rome with that of the poet, but it has not been unreason-

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able for a first-time reader of the poem to do so. Modern critics who argue or assume that the prophecies and other optimistic sections of the *Aeneid* were written simply as foil or to satisfy expectations or to please readers of slower wit than ours have gone too far. It must have been part of the plan of the *Aeneid* for the reader to suspect or hope or believe for a while that the prophecies of Rome are true, and accurate, and justified in their surface optimism. In the *Aeneid* generally, and especially in the prophecies of Rome, Vergil meditates on man's ability or inability to know the truth about his world. One way he does this is by assuming the role of the *vates*, the inspired poet-prophet who may have special knowledge and insight into the truth about the world—or may be a charlatan deceiving with false dreams. This final chapter will briefly discuss the role of the potentially deceptive *vates* in Roman poetry, and will argue that the concern with illusion and deception attributed to the *Aeneid* in the preceding chapters makes the *Aeneid* have more in common with other poetry of the age—particularly love poetry—than has generally been thought. This will be of some relevance to the questions about recent Vergilian scholarship with which the introduction began.

The concept of poet as prophet goes back to archaic Greece,¹ but the special connotations of the word *vates*, and of the association of poetry with prophecy at Rome, provide a uniquely Roman context for Vergil's use of deceptive prophecy in the *Aeneid*. The history of the word *vates* is well known: "In early Latin *vates* were given a bad name. . . . The word was ennobled in the Augustan period to describe the poet in his inspired aspect."² The *vates* was first ridiculed by Ennius and Lucretius and others, and linked to deceit, charlatanry, and the propagation of harmful "made-up dreams" (*ficta somnia*). But then, the story goes, the word was "rehabilitated" by

¹ See, e.g., Kambylis (1965) 12–14.

² Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) on Horace C. 1.1.35. Cf. Dahlmann (1948) 337–53; Bickel (1951) 257–314; Skutsch (1968) 24 and 28n.9; and Newman (1967a).

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the Augustans, and “rid . . . of these unfortunate overtones.”³ It then becomes “exalted” and “consecrated,”⁴ and describes a poet who “would . . . bear witness to the unity of things divine and human,” and whose special position as an inspired prophet enables him to speak reliably and truthfully to his society about the problems of the day—makes him “entitled to step forward with proposals about morals and manners to the whole citizen body.”⁵ There is much truth in this view, but modification is necessary, in the light of both the actual use of the word by the Augustans, and also the suggestions made about both poetry and prophecy in the *Aeneid*. The key lies in the negative associations of the word *vates* and what the Augustans would have made of them. The process of “rehabilitation,” and of ridding the word *vates* of the “unfortunate overtones” of deceit and illusion, is largely a fiction. These connotations are both more persistent and less “unfortunate” than the histories of the word admit, and I shall argue that the Augustans actually found them attractive, and relevant to their conceptions of their own poetry.

The associations of the word *vates* with deception and illusion are present both a few years before the Augustan period, and in both the earliest and latest Augustan poetry. Lucretius, near the beginning of the *De Rerum Natura*, laments the ability of *vates* (he means primarily religious figures, but secondarily also poets⁶) to fashion harmful “dreams” for others:

Tutemet a nobis iam quovis tempore vatum
terri loquis victus desciscere quaeres.
Quippe etenim quam multa tibi iam fingere possunt

³ Newman (1967a) 15, 35, and 104 uses the word “rehabilitation”; for “these unfortunate overtones,” see p. 31. Newman (1967a) 26 speaks of Vergil’s “intention . . . to rescue *vates* from the censure heaped on them by the Ennian tradition.”

⁴ Bickel (1951) 207; his verbs are “erhöhen” and “weihen.”

⁵ For “bear witness to the unity,” see Newman (1967a) 16; for “entitled to step forward,” etc., see Newman (1967a) 64.

⁶ Cf. Clay (1983) 222 and O’Hara (1987).

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somnia, quae vitae rationes vertere possint
fortunasque tuas omnis turbare timore! (1.102-6)

(You yourself at one time or another, beaten by the frightening words of the *vates*, will wish to desert my cause. Naturally enough, for how many dreams they can fashion for you, to overturn a rational way of living and ruin your whole life with fear!)

The Augustans do not eliminate these negative connotations, these associations of the *vates* with "made-up dreams," but instead exploit them. In Vergil's *Eclogues*, the word *vates* appears twice: one singer calls himself a *vates* as he is in the process of losing a singing contest (*Eclogue* 7.28), another as he is just learning that poetry and song do not have the power to influence the real world that he once thought they did (*Eclogue* 9.34).⁷ Vergil's prophetic *Eclogue* 4 presents an optimistic view of the present and the future that is analogous to the view of many prophecies in the *Aeneid*. That view is (arguably—it is an extremely difficult poem) undercut by the details of the presentation of the prophecy,⁸ by the conflict between this poem's tone and that of the other poems in the collection, and by the date of publication of the collection of *Eclogues*: in 37 B.C., or especially in 35 B.C. (which now seems the more likely date), it would have been apparent that the hopes of the dramatic date of the poem, the year 40 B.C., had not been fulfilled, in much the same way that the *Aeneid*'s hopeful prophecies are often not fulfilled.⁹ In *Epode* 16, the earliest extant

⁷ For some of the problems involved in using the *Eclogues* to attribute to Vergil the "rehabilitation" of the *vates*, see Van Sickle (1978) index s.v. "vatic poetics," esp. 182-87.

⁸ Cf. Petrini (1987) chap. 6, "The Fourth *Eclogue*."

⁹ For references on the date of the *Eclogues*, see Ross (1987) 244.

On reading in a historical context, cf. Frye (1957) 221: "Shakespeare's *Henry V* is a successfully completed romantic quest made tragic by its implicit context: everybody knows that King Henry died almost immediately and that sixty years of unbroken disaster followed for England."

Redating the *Eclogues* to 35 B.C. puts them in a year of optimism following

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poem in which a Roman poet calls *himself* a *vates*, Horace applies the word to himself as he offers to lead a group of Romans away from the horrors of the civil wars to the Blessed Isles—a fantasy solution to the apparently insoluble problems of the day. Vergil's *Georgics* describe the all-knowing *vates* Proteus (4.387ff.), but his knowledge seems to be virtually inaccessible, and as Ross has shown, perhaps ultimately useless;¹⁰ the only human *vates* in the poem is the priest who is helpless in the face of the plague of Book 3: *nec responsa potest consultus reddere vates* (3.491, "nor can the *vates* when consulted produce any responses"). For later Augustan poetry, the survey of the *si non vana* motif in the appendix to chapter 1 lists a number of the passages illustrating Ovid's use of the word *vates*: Ovid often says, "unless what *vates* (poets) say is false," with the playful implication that what poets say might well be deceptive.¹¹

In the *Aeneid*, we see the exalted, ennobled *vates*, but we also see prophets and prophecies that conceal, equivocate, fail, or deceive. The word *vates* is used in Sinon's story of Calchas as he cooperates with Odysseus' treachery (2.122). When Dido tries to perform *litatio*, Vergil laments, *heu, vatium ignarae mentes!* (4.65, "Oh, prophets! Oh ignorance!").¹² When Iris

Octavian's defeat of Sextus Pompey, but *Eclogue* 4 recalls the optimism of the year 40 B.C., which did not last.

¹⁰ Ross (1987) 214–33.

¹¹ Cf. *Met.* 13.733–34 *virginis ora gerens et, si non omnia vates/ ficta reliquerent, aliquo quoque tempore virgo*; 15.282–84 *postquam (nisi vatibus omnis/ eripienda fides) illic lavere bimembres/ vulnera*; 15.878–79 *perque omnia saecula fama,/ si quid habent veri vatium praesagia, vivam*. On Ovid's "poetic self-irony" in these passages, see Galinsky (1975) 173–79.

¹² My translation here is deliberately vague. Scholars have argued over whether *vatium* is objective genitive with *ignarae* (among them, e.g., Pöschl [1977] 102) or possessive genitive with *mentes* (G. Williams [1983] 201–2). As with Jupiter's ambiguous reference to a Iulius Caesar (see chap. 4), the real question here is, why has Vergil chosen such relentlessly ambiguous language? The ambiguity here is deliberate, and thematically appropriate: the reader's difficulty with the syntax of the word *vatium* is analogous to the difficulty both Dido and the reader have in interpreting the language of the entreaties.

appears in disguise to incite the Trojan women, she cites the authority of *Cassandra vates* (5.636). Allecto appears to Turnus disguised as a *vates* (7.435); he accuses her of being a deluded prophet (*senectus . . . falsa vatem formidine ludit* 440-42), but she deceives him more insidiously. Aeneas is misled by prophecies or interpretations of omens by Venus, Creusa, Helenus, Apollo, Anchises, Tiberinus, and Cymodocea. And the *Aeneid* presents major prophecies looking forward to the poet's own time, and presenting a positive, optimistic view of his culture, society, and government, but with strong suggestions that these prophecies may be misleading and deceptive.

The Augustans' and especially Vergil's opinion of what a *vates* was did not radically differ from that of those who accused the *vates* of fabricating dreams (*somnia fingere*); what was different was their idea of the attraction or necessity of such activity, and of its relationship to their own poetic activity. The Augustans saw in the unreliability of the *vates* and his associations with deception and illusion a fitting representation of the basic ambiguities and complexities of their work and the troubled political situation of the times. When Vergil and Horace speak of peace or hope or happiness or freedom from cares, it is often with the skepticism of an age that had seen many promises broken, and many apparent settlements collapse. As they began to imagine (but not completely believe) that things could get better and that a poet could have some impact on this situation, they saw the appeal of the figure of the *vates*, who could prophesy a more optimistic future, and perhaps through his poetry's influence on society, could even help to bring about this better future. Since the *vates*' prophecies, however, were traditionally associated with fantasy, dreams, and falsehood, they could be as uncertain or unreal as the poets' own hopes and expectations.

The inherent ambiguity of the figure of the *vates* is well suited to the ambiguity of the *Aeneid*, and of much of Augustan poetry. One goal of this study, as noted in the introduction, has been to refute the charge that readings of the *Aeneid* that find doubt or worry about the Augustan settlement are

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anachronistic and subjective. I have tried to do this in part by grounding my interpretation in details in the text for which it seems no other reasonable explanation can be offered. I have also described some aspects of Vergil's world that would make the appearance of deceptive prophecies in a poem quite natural, such as the deception of one Roman by another in oratory, politics, and especially religion, which sought "to preserve morale and to prevent panic among the populace at large in times of stress."¹³ For Vergil, however, the literary context is always of prime importance, and it does not support the charge that modern readers are wrong to find doubt in the *Aeneid*. To argue that the *vates*-figure retains its association with illusion, as I have in this chapter, and that the *Aeneid* is concerned with truth and deception and with hope and disillusionment, as I have in the preceding chapters, is to argue that the poem has more in common than has generally been acknowledged with a great deal of the poetry of the first century B.C. From the bitter complaints of Catullus about his own naivete in dealing with Lesbia (72.5, *nunc te cognovi*, "now I have learned what you are really like"), to Ovid's musings in his last books of verse about whether he will be able to win release from exile, Latin poets often measure an idealized world against the real world. Neoteric and Augustan poets often seem to want to construct a world in which things work out, in which there is no war, in which the life of the shepherd or farmer is peaceful and carefree, in which poetry has the power to save farms, mollify tyrants, win lovers from richer rivals, or bring a poet back from exile. A good part of the work of these poets maturely considers the potential unreality of such constructs and the corresponding grimness of the real world, and meditates on man's need or tendency to invent or believe such fantasies. In Vergil's earliest poems, the *Eclogues*, several characters either cling to or try to break free of their delusions about the world, much like the Catullan lover.¹⁴ The

¹³ Liebeschuetz (1979) 16; cf. chap. 3 at nn.61–63.

¹⁴ Cf. esp. *Edl.* 1, 2, 8, 9, and 10. The *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid* have

Georgics juxtapose pleasant lies with harsh reality.¹⁵ The three extant elegists, Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid, play all manner of variation on themes of perception, deceit, and disillusionment. The “eponymous” occurrence of the *si non vana* motif is in Propertius 3.6.31 (*si non vana canunt mea somnia*, “if my dreams do not sing empty things”), as Propertius imagines how a fight he has had with Cynthia is to be resolved. In Tibullus 1.5.19–34, the poet describes the idyllic life in the country he had imagined for himself and Delia, then breaks away: *haec mihi fingebam* (“this is what I dreamed for myself”).¹⁶ The Romans did not start writing love poetry because they had discovered romance: they found (or learned from Catullus) that love elegy was a genre in which one could explore questions of hope, perception, deception, and disappointment. It was part of Vergil’s genius to see that epic also had such potential. The *Aeneid* offers dreams of a Golden Age and of freedom from the troubles that have always plagued Vergil’s world; it does not offer naive confidence in those dreams.

Chapter 1 looked at Aeneas’ misinterpretation of the scenes from the Trojan War painted on the walls of Dido’s temple at Carthage. Aeneas takes the murals to be a sign of sympathy for the sufferings of his people, but since this is Juno’s temple the murals celebrate rather than lament the Fall of Troy. Aeneas needed encouragement, but the consolation he draws from the murals is deceptive. Vergil knows the ability of art, of poetry, of the *Aeneid* itself not only to console, but also to deceive.¹⁷ Analogies between Vergil’s poem and these murals,

more in common with Catullus conceptually than has usually been acknowledged: see Arkins (1986) 35–39 and Petrini (1987).

¹⁵ See Ross (1987).

¹⁶ Cf. the perceptive analysis of Elder (1962) 84: “The instinct to ‘undercut’ his idyll must originate in large part from life at Rome as [Tibullus] found it. That life drove him to his dreams, and that same life made him masochistically snap the dream-thread.”

¹⁷ Cf. Putnam (1987). On the murals, see chap. 1, Anchises section, and also Clay (1988).

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and between the poem itself and its prophecies, are suggestively implied: the poem is perhaps like the prophecies that reveal the truth only obscurely, perhaps like the prophecies that deceive for the recipient's own good, perhaps like those that deceive to the recipient's harm, perhaps like those that lie because the truth is too painful. Of the poet himself we could almost say, as Vergil said of Aeneas, *spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem* ("he feigns hope on his face, suppressing the pain deep in his heart").

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

The following abbreviations are used:

AJP	American Journal of Philology
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
CJ	Classical Journal
CP	Classical Philology
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CR	Classical Review
G&R	Greece and Rome
GRBS	Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies
Gymn.	Gymnasium
HSCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
LCM	Liverpool Classical Monthly
MD	Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici
Mnem.	Mnemosyne
MH	Museum Helveticum
NJb	Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum und für Pädagogik
PCPS	Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society
PVS	Proceedings of the Virgil Society
RE	Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Real-Encyclopädie der cla- ssischen Altertumswissenschaft
RM	Rheinisches Museum
SO	Symbolae Osloenses
SP	Studies in Philology
TAPA	Transactions of the American Philological Associa- tion
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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